DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 123 779 EA 008 335

TITLE Case Studies of Educational Innovation: II. At the Regional Level.

INSTITUTION Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris (France). Centre for Educational Research and Innovation.

PUB DATE 73

NOTE 420p.; For related documents, see ED 090 124, ED 085 327, and ED 087 665

AVAILABLE FROM OECD Publications Center, Suite 1207, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 ($8.00)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$22.09 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS *Case Studies; *Change Strategies; *Comparative Education; Curriculum; *Education); Educational Change; *Educational Innovation; Elementary Secondary Education; Higher Education; Organization; Preschool Education; Program Descriptions; *Regional Programs; School Environment; School Organization; Teachers

IDENTIFIERS England; Germany; Sweden

ABSTRACT

The Centre for Educational Research and Innovation Studies on innovation have tried to evaluate what is happening in different member countries to achieve a balance between organized processes for change and free initiative of the individual school or teacher, and to establish effective institutions in the different national circumstances. The aim has been to diagnose the reasons for success and failure and to probe the conditions under which planners, administrators, and teachers can work together effectively. This volume deals with innovation at the regional level. Five case studies are presented: two from the United Kingdom and one each from Canada, Germany, and Sweden. The United Kingdom examples show two approaches to the adoption of comprehensive education. The German example shows the effects on one region of a country's attempts at innovation. The Canadian and Swedish cases both emphasize a region's organization for innovation. In Canada the innovations deal with curriculum committees, a master teacher program, and an Organization Development Unit. In Sweden the innovations deal with flexible pupil grouping, subject integration, and team teaching; remedial teaching to replace certain forms of special education; an individualized mathematics teaching project; and experimental methods of teaching German. (Author/IRT)

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CASE STUDIES OF EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION:

II. AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL

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ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT
1973

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The main objectives of the Centre are as follows:

- *to promote and support the development of research activities in education and undertake such research activities where appropriate;*
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- *to promote the development of co-operation between Member countries in the field of educational research and innovation.*

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This publication is one of a series of four volumes
on educational innovation:

Volume I is concerned with central institutions;
Volume II deals with innovation at the regional level;
Volume III deals with innovation at the school level;
Volume IV "Strategies for Innovation in Education",
summarizes and draws conclusions based on the earlier volumes.

PREFACE

During the last two decades the schools, which were traditionally the cornerstones of social stability and continuity, have become the crucible of social change. It was to be expected that societies which have opted for rapid economic and technological changes would be faced by deep social changes reaching into the schools. What perhaps was not bargained for is that - as increasing affluence has sparked off demands for equality - the school itself has become the platform for social change.

Today we can see the signs of a reaction, in terms of a re-emphasis of the educational as opposed to the social role of the school. The theme that standards of education should not be sacrificed to social aims is advanced to combat those who see the school as an instrument of social policy.

In these circumstances the theme of innovation in education is as sensitive as it is important. Yet no one can doubt that all countries are impelled towards a headlong process of change in the schools, and that an assessment of attempts to make this an effective process is overdue. For whatever the different social attitudes concerning the role and its role in society, it is not feasible to expect a standstill in the school whilst at the same time accepting a rapid process of economic, technological and cultural change in the surrounding community. Some way has to be found of relating the school to this process of change in a way that widens opportunities for children, maintains educational standards and recognises that the school must have a foot in both the past and the future.

However, to talk of strategies of innovation, which is to be the general subject of a series of CERI reports, is to assume that it is possible to plan and manage the process of change in the schools. Such an assumption is sometimes challenged on the grounds that organisational structures to promote educational change will become a "technocracy of innovation", and thereby stifle the creativeness of the teachers in particular and the schools in general. But is not the reality that what the teacher and his pupils can achieve is greatly constrained by lack of information, resources and - let it be said - organisation? Potential innovations assail the schools on all sides with little hope of a considered or systematic evaluation - so that they may be rejected or adopted according to proven merit.

Surely the answer lies in some sort of balance between an organised process and the free initiative of the individual school or teacher, a balance that will be struck in different ways in different countries according to their traditions.

CERI's studies on innovation in education have tried to evaluate what is actually happening in different Member countries to achieve this balance, and to establish effective institutions in the different national circumstances. Seventeen case-studies have been carried out at the national, regional and school levels (for the list see below), involving the efforts of some twenty-four research workers. The aim has been to diagnose the reasons for success and failure, and to probe the conditions under which planners, administrators and teachers can work together effectively.

The results of this major study will be published in four volumes, of which the present Report is Number II, as follows:

Case Studies of Educational Innovation -

I. At the Central Level.
II. At the Regional Level.
III. At the School Level.
IV. Strategies for Innovation in Education - A Synthesis.

The broad conclusion to be reached from all this work is that, regardless of educational philosophy and political traditions, all countries are now grappling with the problem of organising a continuing process of change in schools. Already many new institutions are emerging, and the elements of policy begin to be defined. No country can afford to ignore these trends, even if only because the schools are influenced by new ideas from other countries as well as those from within national boundaries. A policy for innovation, and institutions to produce it, is becoming necessary in one form or another. It is hoped that this series of reports will assist countries to build their own arrangements faster and more effectively than would otherwise be possible.

CERI owes its appreciation to many individuals, institutions and authorities for the vast amount of willing energy that has been devoted to the completion of these volumes. They are too many to be thanked individually, but their contributions will emerge as the series of reports is published.

J.R. Gass
Director
Centre for Educational Research
and Innovation

CASE STUDIES OF EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION

II. AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL

Part One

LEICESTERSHIRE, UNITED KINGDOM, BY BRIAN HOLMES, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON 7

Part Two

DEVON, UNITED KINGDOM BY CERI SECRETARIAT.. 103

Part Three

WETZLAR, HESSE, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, BY HELGA METZNER AND GUNTHER PROBST 153

Part Four

YORK COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION, BY JAN J. LOUBSER, HERBERT SPIERS AND CAROLYN MOODY 213

Part Five

MALMÖ, SWEDEN, BY WOLFGANG-P. TESCHNER 313

Part One

LEICESTERSHIRE, UNITED KINGDOM

by

Brian Holmes, University of London

1971

CONTENTS

Chapter I
THE BACKGROUND

The role of local education authorities in English education 15
Leicestershire 18

Chapter II
THREE INNOVATIONS

The Leicestershire Plan 21
The internal organisation of Leicestershire schools 24
Community colleges 27

Chapter III
THE LEICESTERSHIRE PLAN

The context of innovation: local and national 29
The pilot areas 37
Assessment and full implementation 40
Opposition and its defeat 43
Modifications of the plan 48

Chapter IV
FREEDOM TO EDUCATE

Curriculum control 51
Choosing teachers 55
The deployment of teachers 59
    Primary schools 60
    High schools 62
    Upper schools 63
Teacher education 65
Peripatetic teachers 66
Advisers 67
Partnership 72

Chapter V
THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

Primary schools 77
    Rectangles 77
    Hexagons 80
    Circles 83
High schools 84
Upper schools 86
Conclusions 89

Chapter VI
COMMUNITY COLLEGES 91

Chapter VII
LESSONS TO BE LEARNED 97

Appendix 1
14 + TRANSFER RATES FOR INDIVIDUAL UPPER SCHOOLS 101

Appendix 2
LEICESTERSHIRE PLAN AREAS 102

SUMMARY

This study describes three innovations introduced by the mid-England county of Leicestershire. The county, which controls 250 primary and 50 secondary schools, comprises the urban fringes of the City of Leicester - the centre of which is administered by a separate authority - half a dozen densely populated market towns, and numerous small villages scattered through the remaining rural areas of the county. It is unusual in that the 830 square miles covered by the county are roughly circular in shape, making for ease of communications despite the rural nature of parts of the region.

The two more important innovations are related, one creating the conditions in which the other could flourish. First was the re-organisation, throughout the county, of the pattern of secondary schooling. From this followed a new freedom in the schools that led to curriculum developments and the use of new teaching methods. The third innovation, started long before these developments, and with a history of its own, was the introduction of "community colleges" - centres of community learning and other activities based in secondary school buildings.

The secondary school re-organisation in Leicestershire, first proposed in 1957 and completed by 1969, was carried out at a time when the move to comprehensive schools, as opposed to schools taking pupils selected according to ability, was gaining momentum in England and Wales. Not only was Leicestershire the first English county to become completely comprehensive, but it did so according to a two-tier pattern which was at the time unique to that country.

Devised by the county director of education, Stewart Mason, whose personality and ability were clearly at the heart of this success story, the "Leicestershire Plan", as it became known, involved the transfer of all primary school children at 11 to "high

schools" where they stayed at least to the age of 14. At that stage, if they were willing to stay on at school another two years they could choose to go on to an "upper school". Otherwise they remained at the high schools until they reached the statutory leaving age of 15. At no point in this procedure was any ability test imposed.

Compared with the "orthodox" 11 to 18 comprehensive school then favoured by educationists in England, this scheme had two advantages. It did not involve the establishment of huge schools with 2,000-odd pupils, and it made full use of existing school buildings and staffs. The former grammar schools which had taken selected "academic" children were still able, in their new role as upper schools, to teach advanced courses. Meanwhile, the secondary modern schools which had taken the remainder of the children were not over-stretched when as high schools they took a full ability range of the 11 to 14 age group. The "Leicestershire Plan" soon became famous throughout England and abroad, and in 1965 was recommended by the Government as one of six acceptable comprehensive systems.

From this re-organisation followed a whole host of curriculum innovations and changes in the internal organisation of both primary and secondary schools. Again the personality of Stewart Mason and his policy of appointing enthusiastic wide-ranging staff were vital ingredients to success.

Particular importance is attached in this case study to two aspects of this area of innovation: the degree of freedom given to teachers and to the well-staffed advisory services to implement changes and the physical environment of the schools themselves.

Released by re-organisation from the pressures of the eleven-plus secondary school selection examination both primary and secondary teachers began to introduce changes such as the integrated day, team teaching, and new curriculum content. These all stemmed from a "child-centred" approach to education based on free and equal teacher-pupil relationships which accurately reflected the freedom and equality accorded to the Leicestershire teachers themselves in their relationships with each other and with the director and his administrations and advisers. Thus it is stressed that the innovations came from the "grass roots" and were not imposed from above.

As for the physical environment, Leicestershire has been responsible for some of the most exciting new school buildings in England. Again it was Stewart Mason's exceptional influence. Designs included circular schools and much pioneering work in open-plan structures. There is also a scheme whereby Leicestershire schools can borrow or buy first-class works of art by contemporary artists, and every new school has a piece of sculpture in a prominant position.

Chapter I

THE BACKGROUND

THE ROLE OF LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES IN ENGLISH EDUCATION

The Second World War helped to create in Britain a climate of opinion on which the post-war "Welfare State" - the structure of state support for individuals - was to be based. Even before the end of the war, blueprints were being prepared for a society in which everyone would have an equal right to work, to health, to social amenities and to education. The 1944 Education Act, passed as a matter of faith, provided the statutory framework within which post-war educational developments in England and Wales have taken place.

A Ministry of Education was created, headed by a Minister whose duty it was "to promote the education of the people of England and Wales." This was to be done through the medium of the local education authorities which were also set up by the Act. Clause 11 of the Act obliged local authorities to submit, as soon as possible, plans to meet the educational needs of their areas within the three stages of education - primary, secondary and further. The new Ministry had power to accept, reject or refer back these proposals.

The 1944 Act has remained the legal basis for the state education system in England and Wales. Although it gives the Government some right of veto, it nevertheless allows to local education authorities (LEA's) a great deal of freedom to pursue policies in accordance with the circumstances and traditions of their own areas. This can be appreciated by examining the variety of schemes put forward in response to the Act, and the range of administrative systems that were involved in carrying out the massive expansion of education in post-war Britain.

Most of the LEA's created under the Act corresponded with the existing local government structure, based on the counties, which already had a long history of administering education. LEA's are elected bodies of local representatives who decide on policies by means of a committee hierarchy which is serviced and advised by a permanent local administration. This is under the direction of a professional administrator called a chief education officer, or director of education.

Traditionally, English administrators are not political appointees. Their job is to give the best professional advice on the implications of any given policy, and, once a decision has been taken, to carry out the chosen policies. Clearly, administrative officers as professional people have a key role to play in the formulation and implementation of policy, and may well have a decisive influence. They cannot, however, ignore the wishes of members elected by the public to represent them, either at national or local level.

Besides the Government's power to veto the action of LEA's in certain fields, there are a number of further constraints on the general freedom which is open to them. Usually indirect pressures may be brought to bear by central Government, or by local party members, to adopt the educational policy of one or other of the two major parties - Labour or Conservative. In practical terms, elected local authorities often represent national trends - but not always. Local policies may run counter to national policy. Since 1945, although there has been some overlap on education policy between Labour and Conservative parties, the Labour side has more strongly favoured the creation of wider educational opportunity by the establishment of comprehensive schools. The Conservatives, on the other hand, being a more right-wing party, have favoured the maintenance of, if not giving actual priority to, selective secondary schools which were thought to enhance the quality if not the quantity of education.

Further constraints of LEA freedom arise from the way in which the education system is financed. Each LEA is responsible for education at the primary (5 to 11 years), secondary (11 to 15 compulsory - rising to 16 in 1972-73 - and up to 18 voluntary) and further (post-school) levels. Money for education is provided in roughly equal proportions from local taxation and from central Government funds. Thus in periods of economic stringency, or in cases where local policy runs diametrically counter to that of the national Government, LEA's can find their plans thwarted through lack of money from the Government.

A seemingly minor clause (Section 13) in the 1944 Act requiring LEA's to submit to the Government for approval any plans to open or close state schools has, since it was expanded by the 1968 Education Act, also emerged as a potential constraint on the freedom of the authorities. This would be true, for example, in cases where they wished to set up a type of secondary school not favoured by the political party then in control of the Government.

Some limits are imposed on LEA's so far as the employment of teachers is concerned. While teachers are technically employed and paid by LEA's there are national salary scales to which they must adhere. There are also mandatory national conditions of service, but these allow sufficient flexibility for some inter-authority competition to attract and hold well-qualified teachers.

Each school or group of schools has to have a board of governors (in the case of secondary schools) or managers (in the case of primary schools). Members of these boards are appointed by the LEA's, with a minority nominated by other local bodies. These boards participate with the LEA in the appointment of senior members of school staff, though they often delegate the appointments of other staff to the head teacher. (This is the case in Leicestershire). The boards can - at least in theory - exert some pressure on LEA's in their capacity as representatives of a school's immediate local community - including parents. The 1944 Act does state, after all, that within the limits of economic efficiency and overall policy, children shall be educated in accordance with the wishes of their parents.

A similarly subtle pressure on LEA's can come from the educational advisory services of central Government and of their own local administrations. At the Department of Education (as the Ministry was re-named in 1964) is based a corps of independent inspectors whose duty it is to advise schools on educational practice. Although, according to a long tradition these H.M.I.s (Her Majesty's Inspectors) do not directly interfere with the running of a school, their influence can be considerable. LEA's also employ inspectors or advisers concerned either with particular stages of education, e.g. primary or secondary, or with particular curriculum subjects. These advisers can play an important part in the introduction of new policies, both in their conception and adoption by the LEA and in their final implementation.

One final constraint on LEA's lies in the traditional autonomy of the headteacher. Though this varies a little from one LEA to another, any attempt seriously to undermine the customary authority of the head to run his school in his own way arouses considerable opposition.

LEICESTERSHIRE

Leicestershire County Council is one of the English local education authorities. It is responsible for 300 schools, of which 250 are primary schools and 50 are secondary schools. There are 4 special schools for handicapped children and 8 institutions of further education. In addition there are several centres meeting special needs throughout the county and one outdoor pursuits centre in North Wales. The schools are distributed over an area of 830 square miles.

The City of Leicester, occupying 26 square miles, is a separate education authority and runs its own schools.

Within the region administered by the Leicestershire County Council are several sizeable suburbs of the City such as Oadby/Wigston, Braunstone and Thurmaston. Further away from the City are several market towns. In the north-east is Melton Mowbray with a population in 1961 of 18,250; in the north, Loughborough's population was 40,000; in the north-west Coalville and Ashby de la Zouch had populations of 28,250 and 7,930 respectively. The population of Hinckley in the south-west is 44,530 and of Market Harborough in the south-east 13,180. As stated in In Our Experience 1) the county "is better placed for ease of administration probably than any other county" (p. vii). It is virtually round in shape and its extremities are no more than 15 to 20 miles from the centre of affairs.

The county thus has heavily populated suburban districts, medium sized towns with their own identity, and small villages. The variety in the size of schools reflects this distribution of population. Many primary schools are small even by English

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1) Mason, Stewart C. (ed.), In Our Experience: The Changing Schools of Leicestershire, London, Longman, 1970.

standards and some employ only one teacher, others only two. At the other end of the scale it is envisaged that some upper secondary schools will enroll 1,500 pupils.

In implementing its now-famous reforms the authority paid great attention to the needs of parts of the county which had recently received an influx of new residents as a result of which the school population rose dramatically from 43,900 in 1948 to 80,000 in 1971 - in spite of a loss of 3,850 due to boundary changes in 1966. Movements of population inside the administrative area had also to be taken in account when planning the provision of schools.

This provision was carried out by Leicestershire County Council, like any other LEA, through a system of elected committees serviced by a permanent administration. The County Council's theoretical powers as education authority - bestowed by the 1944 Act - are, in the case of all English LEA's, delegated to a specially constituted education committee. This consists of elected members of the County Council, co-opted members with experience in education, for the most part nominated by the universities, associations of teachers in colleges and schools, and the churches. The education committee has a number of sub-committees the chief of which include the general purposes committee, the school organisation and staffing committee, the further education committee and the building and sites committee. After a re-organisation early in 1971 the senior officials of the county education office consisted of the director of education, a first and second deputy director of education, five assistant directors in charge of schools, special education, further education, development and administrative services. Each has senior administrative assistants and clerical staff.

The way in which the organisation developed to meet the needs of innovation and the way in which duties and responsibilities were allocated will be the subject of further discussion. Also of importance is the continuity of service provided by the administrative staff. It is, for example, worthy of note that Mr. Stewart Mason, director of education until late 1971, is only the second person to hold the position since it was created in 1902. Many other officers have spent similarly long periods of service with the Authority, thus ensuring a knowledge of county affairs based on personal experience.

The role of the administration is clearly crucial if new policies are to succeed. The director and his staff have to establish satisfactory relationships with opposite numbers at the DES (Department of Education and Science). They also have to get on well with members of the Authority's committees and at the same time win the confidence of teachers, parents and other groups within the community.

Special attention will be given in this case study to the crucial role which these relationships, and staffing policies in general, played in the success of the Leicestershire innovations.

Chapter II

THREE INNOVATIONS

Leicestershire LEA is famous for the "Leicestershire Plan", a pattern of school organisation which has since been adopted by several other authorities, and which was approved by the Labour Government in 1965 as one of six recommended models of comprehensive reorganisation. It involved the successful re-structuring of secondary schools throughout the county so that they no longer selected children according to their scholastic ability. Leicestershire was the first English county to be fully comprehensive.

Less well known, but equally important, are the ways in which the internal organisation of Leicestershire schools has been changed to harmonise with the educational aims of reorganisation. The success of the Plan doubtless made possible much of the progressive approach now found in both primary and secondary schools in the county.

A third important innovation has involved the whole community of certain parts of the county in education activities in what are known as "community colleges". These are centres of non-vocational, leisure-time education based in secondary schools.

THE "LEICESTERSHIRE PLAN"

In 1956-67 the system of secondary education in Leicestershire was not unlike that in most of England and Wales. Two reports prepared for the Government, the Spens Report in 1938 and the Norwood Report in 1943, had recommended a tri-partite system of grammar, technical and secondary modern schools for pupils over 11 years of age. The system was based on the assumption that children could be classified into three broad categories.

Those who were interested in learning for its own sake, the so-called "academic" children, would go to grammar schools where they might be prepared for university entry. Those whose interests and abilities were markedly in the field of applied science and applied art should attend technical schools, and finally a pupil who "deals more easily with concrete things than with ideas ..., whose horizon is near and whose movement within a limited area ... is generally slow, though it may be surprisingly rapid in seizing a particular point or in taking up a special line" should attend, along with his fellows, a secondary modern school.

Pupils from the primary schools were allocated to one of the three types of schools on the basis of the "eleven-plus" examination which in most areas, including Leicestershire, involved an IQ (Intelligence Quotient) test, and performance tests in English and arithmetic.

For pupils who "got in" the grammar school performed its traditional role of preparing them for the School Certificate (later the General Certificate of Education "Ordinary") at about the age of 16, and subsequently prepared the small proportion of pupils who stayed on in school after this for the Higher School Certificate examination (later the General Certificate of Education "Advanced" level), on which admission to the universities was based. In 1965 the percentage of pupils selected for grammar schools in Leicestershire was around 25 per cent, which was rather more than in the majority of other authorities. The remainder of the pupils, namely 75 per cent, went to one of the secondary modern schools. Most children not in grammar schools left school at the normal leaving age of 15. However, the majority of secondary modern schools were gradually building up small groups of pupils who stayed on till 16 to take the General Certificate of Education in a restricted range of subjects at "O" level.

At the time of his appointment in 1947, the new director of education was prepared to accept this system on the grounds that children naturally grouped themselves into academic and non-academic types. He was willing to believe that the selection tests, backed by school reports and interviews made appropriate the allocation of children to the different schools. Ten years later he admitted that for some time he had been turning over in his mind new methods of organising secondary education which would avoid selection at eleven, but retain with different functions and with enhanced status for both, the grammar school and the secondary modern school.

By the mid-fifties national opposition to the eleven-plus examination was growing. As long before as 1922, R.H. Tawney had edited a pamphlet for the Labour Party entitled *Secondary Education for All* in which a case for common secondary schools was made. In 1938 a Trade Union Council resolution deplored the separation of children into three types of school. In 1942 a Labour Party Conference called for the Government to develop schools among multilateral lines envisaged in the Spens Report. Conference resolutions in 1943, 1945, and 1947 were passed in favour of re-organised secondary education.

Sociological enquiries by D.V. Glass, Jean Floud, H. Halsey and their collaborators had shown that middle class children were over-represented in grammar schools. P.E. Verson's extensive research on eleven-plus selection showed to what lengths teachers and parents would go to enable pupils to enter grammar schools. He revealed the stresses and strains set up and the way in which these selection tests restricted the curriculum and inhibited new methods of teaching in the primary school. For, despite propaganda designed to accord parity of esteem to the three types of secondary schools, it was the grammar school which was sought after.

In March 1957 in a memorandum entitled *The Organisation of Secondary Education in Leicestershire: Suggestions for a Limited Experiment*, the director of education summarised the harmful effects - educational and social - of the eleven-plus examination. He was convinced, moreover, that the public was no longer prepared to accept the idea of selection. Yet he was not prepared to accept that the 11 to 18 comprehensive school, the only existing alternative, which had been pioneered by the London County Council, was an educationally sound alternative. (See Chapter III). By September 1969 the comprehensive re-organisation of secondary education, broadly along the lines he suggested, covered the whole county. A success story indeed.

Details of organisation had changed and some nomenclatures. But the basic plan was as he originally proposed it: at 11 all children were to transfer, without selection, to high schools (the re-named secondary modern schools). At 14 they would choose either to remain in the high schools, or, if they were prepared to give an undertaking that they would attend school for a further two years, they would have the choice of moving on to upper schools - the re-named grammar schools.

In 1968 the director of education formulated further plans to move towards four-year high schools for pupils aged 10 to 14, together with the amalgamation, where they were separate, of infant (5 to 7) and junior (7 to 11) schools into primary schools enrolling children from 5 to 10. This is already being operated in three areas of the county. When the statutory school leaving age is raised from 15 to 16, in 1972-73, the Leicestershire authority intends that all pupils will transfer at the age of 14 to upper schools. Thus a simplified progressive system of primary schools, high schools, upper schools and community colleges is envisaged.

Two features of the initial secondary re-organisation plan should be noted. First of all it succeeded in effectively abolishing eleven-plus selection and the tri-partite system. After a government request in 1965 most local education authorities were looking for ways to achieve this much desired change. Secondly, the Plan offered a successful alternative to the all-through comprehensive schools taking children from 11 up to 18 which, it was then thought, would have to enroll some 2,000 pupils in order to make a wide choice of courses economically available. Many other authorities were looking for alternatives to the all-through school, and by July 1970 28 of them had submitted schemes for middle schools in the whole of their area, and 21 for such schools in part of their area. Ten local authorities were already operating such schools and another 13 hoped to open similar ones in September 1970.

THE INTERNAL ORGANISATION OF LEICESTERSHIRE SCHOOLS

In one sense the innovations discussed in this section amount to the introduction of a totally new educational environment to the Leicestershire schools. To see how this change has been achieved certain practices have been selected for special attention. Not all of them are easy to describe, but they are important. The first factor is the personal relationships in the school between teacher and teacher and between teachers and pupils. Improved relationships are facilitated by non-streamed and vertical teaching groups and by the design of schools and classrooms. Curriculum developments are associated with methods of teaching and the timetabling of teaching periods. Finally, the actual design of the school environment influences the ethos of life in it and the quality of education provided.

1. Personal relationships

The changed personal relationships inside the schools are most difficult to describe adequately. Certainly the abolition of eleven-plus selection has removed many of the stresses on teachers and pupils in the primary schools. The important thing is that relationships are friendly. Children in the primary schools feel able to talk freely and on relatively equal terms with their teachers. Distinctions are not based, as may once have been the case, on academic distinction or achievement.

To be sure, in English schools attention has always been given to other aspects of personality. But now more than ever it is possible to build on a concept of all-round worth. As the research proceeded, more evidence of this aspect of the Leicestershire schools was accumulated. The key words in any description of the personal relationships which are fostered are individual freedom, autonomy and responsibility, and consensus.

2. Teaching groups

The traditional teaching group was a "horizontal" one based on age - five year olds with five year olds, the six year olds together, and so on up the school to the lower and upper sixth forms for 17 and 18 year olds respectively. In most English schools with more than one class at each age level pupils were "streamed". The most able children were grouped together in the top class, or "stream". The remaining children were grouped into a graded hierarchy of classes below them, according to their ability. Thus children in the "bottom stream" were regarded as the least able, those in the middle streams were "average". The number of classes or streams was, of course, determined by the number of pupils in each age group which could be accommodated in any given school - given that most classes contained around 30 pupils.

At some levels, notably in secondary schools, pupils were re-grouped across the streams into "sets" for certain subjects, such as mathematics and modern languages, where ability was thought likely to be more widely distributed, and a more precise homogeneity was considered desirable.

Now, however, in Leicester, schools have "vertical" age groupings, particularly in the early years of the primary school. Classes no longer bring together only the five year olds, but include pupils aged five, six and seven. A second step has been to establish unstreamed schools so that children are no longer sorted out inside the school into different ability groups. The extent to which streaming and setting is retained in the high school and upper school differs from one school to another.

3. The integrated day

Traditionally, schools had a timetable. It laid down the daily pattern of work for teachers and pupils. In the primary schools timetabling was fairly simple, but rigid. In the secondary schools it was more complex to allow that members of staff or classes might move around the school to meet the needs of specialist teaching and specialist facilities. In both types of school the timetable was based on the assumption that the pupils in any given class would be learning the same thing at the same time.

The integrated day in the primary school heralded the demise of this concept of "class-teaching". Now the class teacher organises the day's activities for individual pupils and for small fluid groups of children in a much freer manner. The organisation is based on the "child-centred" approach and involves arranging the materials and working space of the classroom in such a manner that in a class of 35 young children a large number of different activities may be going on at the same time. The success of this opening of the timetable obviously depends upon the development of new teaching methods and skills. The new approach is commonly called the "integrated day".

4. Curriculum development

Development of the traditional primary school curriculum based upon the three Rs, singing, natural history and physical education has been rapid and striking - not only in Leicestershire but in many other British primary schools. What is of interest here is how the innovations have been introduced throughout the whole region. The changes include the introduction of science other than natural history, new mathematics, a modern language (French) and music other than singing, and a vast extension of the range of visual arts.

At the high school and upper school levels curriculum innovations include the introduction of a G.C.E. "A" level in Design and Nuffield Science.

5. The school environment

Important in the success of the specific innovations is the school environment, in particular the flexibility and attractiveness of the buildings. In Leicestershire, great attention has been paid to the design of schools and many of those built during the fifties and sixties are blueprints for the future.

The second main feature of the school environment which will be studied is the way in which works of art have been brought into schools to enrich the atmosphere and contribute to the quality of education.

Changes in the internal and external organisation of the schools should not be assessed in isolation. Their success has depended not only on the strategies adopted, but on the degree of consensus reached among people working within the system. The procedures adopted to engage these people in discussions prior to the formulation of policy, and during the process of implementing the schemes on an experimental basis have been very important. The engagement of parents and the community in the whole enterprise was also important.

COMMUNITY COLLEGES

Another direction in which Leicestershire has done much pioneer work, or perhaps one should say successful development work, is in community education. Shortly after the war the then Ministry of Education in accordance with procedures laid down in the 1944 Education Act asked all authorities to prepare schemes of further education. In the Leicestershire scheme produced in 1946 proposals were made to establish a network of community colleges at suitably situated secondary schools throughout the county. The idea was to use the expensive capital outlay of secondary schools more fully by making the premises available for use by adults and young people out of school hours. In order to help these groups to feel they had a real stake in the institution and were not being asked to go back to school, the proposal was, wherever possible, to add an adult wing, primarily consisting of a comfortably furnished common room and small canteen, and a games room for young people.

The basic idea was not new, having been pioneered before the second world war in Cambridgeshire under the inspiration of the then director of education, Henry Morris. Henry Morris was in many ways a prophet before his time and it was not until a quarter of a century later that the climate became favourable to the exploitation of his ideas for community education. The practice and effective application of these ideas has probably been taken further in Leicestershire than anywhere else in the country. A brief account of the development of Leicestershire's community colleges is given in Chapter VI.

Chapter III

THE LEICESTERSHIRE PLAN

THE CONTEXT OF INNOVATION: LOCAL AND NATIONAL

The Leicestershire Plan was a response to a problem which had been troubling English educationists and politicians for some time. The 1944 Act had defined the aim of schcoling as the provision of education in accordance with the age, aptitude and abilities of individual pupils. The interpretation of how this could best be accomplished especially at secondary level was inevitably shifting with the growing demand for real equality of educational opportunity.

The official solution immediately after the war was based on the hope, which in the event went increasingly sour, that "parity of esteem" could be reached between secondary grammar, secondary modern and secondary technical schools. In London and in a few other places, an "all-through" (11 to 18) comprehensive school policy implied the virtual destruction of the traditional secondary grammar school. But there was strong resistance to comprehensive education among the defenders of the quality and success of the grammar schools, including headmasters and staff of these schools, former pupils, the professional organisations protecting their interests, some educationists, parents whose children might well gain a grammar school place, and all those who by nature take a conservative view towards radical change. Resistance of this sort has been strong enough to prevent, even now, the full implementation of comprehensive policy in London and in several other areas.

To succeed, any policy to re-organise secondary education had to take notice of these forces, both at the national and local levels.

Leicestershire, on the face of it, in 1956-7, was not the kind of area where the status quo could be uprooted without considerable opposition. In the first place, a Conservative Government, committed to defend the grammar schools, was in power at Westminster. Whitehall officials, if theoretically neutral, were unlikely to welcome enthusiastically proposals to do away with these schools. The majority of elected members of the Leicestershire County Council, though not partisan in a political sense about education, were nevertheless Conservatives, or Independents, with a generally traditional bias. Of the nominated teachers on the Education Committee, the interests of the grammar, secondary modern and primary schools were represented. Overall, the Education Committee, as representing the public interest, might have been expected to view with some alarm any proposal to "go comprehensive".

It must also be remembered that there were in the county many established grammar schools, mostly small in size, but with long established traditions and strongly supported by articulate parents and, in some sense, by the community as a whole. The Dixie Grammar School in Market Bosworth, for example, had been established in the 11th century. Less venerable institutions had built up reputations of which they were justifiably proud.

Many secondary modern schools had also built themselves up by providing some parallel courses with the grammar schools for the more academically interested and able pupils which led to G.C.E. "O" level examination. The policy proposed by the director of education involved the loss to them at the age of 14 of virtually all their high achievers and the termination of their G.C.E. courses beyond that age. Objection from many supporters of the secondary modern schools might have been anticipated.

Perhaps the teachers most likely to accept any reorganisation of secondary schooling were those in the primary schools - particularly those in the upper stages of them, namely the junior schools (7 to 11). To be released from the pressures of eleven plus selection would enable primary school teachers to move more readily and successfully towards child-centred education - a policy increasingly advocated by educationists. In practice, of course, many teachers were concentrating on the basic skills necessary to ensure success in the "eleven-plus". Many genuinely regretted that they were forced to do so. At the same time junior schools which were able to pass on to the grammar schools a large proportion of the "eleven-plus" entrants were, in the eyes of ambitious parents, the successful schools. There was, in short, a clear criterion on which they could be judged. Thus any ambivalence among primary school teachers towards re-organising secondary schools can be well understood, though they had less reason to oppose such a policy than other groups of teachers.

The bare facts of the adoption of the Leicestershire Experiment are these. In March the Director of Education presented to his school organisation and staffing subcommittee of the Education Committee a memorandum entitled "The Organisation of Secondary Education in Leicestershire: Suggestions for a Limited Experiment".

This was one of a large number of items on the agenda but obviously far and away the most important one. The subcommittee debated it at length and according to the minutes gave it "a favourable and indeed enthusiastic welcome as a significant landmark for the future of secondary education". They decided it was of such moment that it should stand adjourned until a further meeting in April when they would meet not only as usual in the morning but continue into the afternoon to do full justice to it. At the close of the second meeting the subcommittee had unanimously recommended the adoption of the scheme by the full Education Committee. Later that month the proposal was debated by the full Education Committee and here again its adoption was unanimous, the minute going on to say that "many members of the committee congratulated the director of education upon the scheme he had prepared for the reorganisation of secondary education". Finally, early in May, the scheme was presented to the full County Council and was carried unanimously. Four months later, in September 1957, the scheme came into operation in the two chosen experimental areas.

That so controversial and indeed revolutionary a change could come about in a conservative English county with such unanimity and speed is something of a mystery, and it is worth probing into at least some of the main causes, though at this date one cannot always disentangle fact from speculation.

The 1957 memorandum was in two parts - the first setting out the broad lines of the scheme as such and the reasons for it, the second going into details as to the choice of the two areas of the county where as an experiment it might first be tried out. There was an appendix setting out the views of the heads of the secondary modern schools in one of the two areas describing the conditions which, in their view, would be required for its success. This appendix gives some indication of the preparatory work undertaken by the Director and his senior staff before the proposals reached the Committee. This was undoubtedly a very important, probably the crucial factor, and a brief account of the sequence of events may be relevant.

Stewart Mason recounts that after ruminating for two or three years with growing dissatisfaction on the tri-partite selective system without finding any solution that would be acceptable within the situation as it existed in Leicestershire, he, one day, in a flash, saw the outline of the Leicestershire Plan unfolded in his mind. There was, he would be the first to admit, little originality in the basic conception of junior and senior high schools which already existed in the United States and elsewhere. But the possibility of applying something on these lines within the rigidities of the English setting was quite new. His first action was to try the idea out on his deputy R.H. Holt from whom he received the utmost encouragement to proceed. He then personally held a series of confidential meetings with individual heads to try out on them the general line and explore possible difficulties. At each of these meetings he received support to proceed, and the means to do so became more clearly defined. Then he held meetings seriatim with all the heads of the grammar schools, all the heads of the secondary modern schools, and the heads of a number of larger primary schools. At each he got full support to work out a detailed scheme.

The criteria for selecting the two experimental areas will be outlined below. The point to be noted here is that in the light of these criteria three areas appeared potentially suitable. The Director then saw each of the secondary modern and grammar school heads in the three areas to see whether they would willingly undertake their now role and whether they felt confident they could carry their staff and governors with them. In two of the three areas after time for consultation and consideration he got a unanimous response in the affirmative; in the third there was a degree of reluctance. Since willing co-operation was, in the director's view, the most important of the criteria, this settled which two out of the three areas should be put forward to the committee. By the time the memorandum reached the committee, the Director felt confident of support in the areas to be chosen, and all the teacher members on the committee were fully aware of the general support of their colleagues.

Between the two meetings of the school organisation subcommittee the director was empowered to discuss the scheme fully with the council of the county branch of the National Union of Teachers. The scheme was very well received by them. On the day following the approval by the Education Committee, the director was explaining and discussing the scheme with teachers in the area concerned and the following day with the managers and governors. At these meetings with teachers, both on this occasion and subsequently, there were some individuals or groups who were sceptical, puzzled or downright opposed, but the general reception was favourable. The local press were taken into early consultation and their co-operation was generously given. A succession of five articles appeared in April and another series in May.

A very important factor which buttressed support for the scheme was that it in no way interfered with the integrity of the schools affected. While it rearranged their functions and age ranges by placing end on to each other two sets of schools which had previously run parallel, each school remained an independent unit with the same head and the same staff - apart, of course, from the changes which take place through normal wastage and from such additions to the staff which the new situation allowed for. The secondary modern schools coming into the scheme were to be assisted by a slightly more favourable staff-pupil ratio (I:23 as opposed to I:24 previously) and by an improved scheme for departmental allowances. This allowed them to recruit a small number of additional people to fill any key gaps in their staffing strength, but, as social units, the schools retained their original identity.

Another point to note is that the scheme was not introduced over-night. At each type of school the changeover worked its way upwards from the bottom year by year, the new organisation only applying to the children reaching the age of 11 and 14 respectively. There were no sudden wrenches but rather a patient assimilation allowing the staffs of the schools in a gentle way to familiarise themselves with their new functions. Indeed, hindsight suggested,perhaps over-caution. It was decided in order to prevent the numbers at the grammar schools from falling initially to continue for a couple of years to allow direct entry at eleven plus of about 12 per cent of the age group as opposed to the previous 25 per cent; in the words of the memorandum,"to let the clutch in gently". Later when the scheme was extended this precaution was abandoned, by mutual consent the entire 11-year-old age group proceeding en bloc from the primary schools to their high school.

Care was taken over nomenclature. "Secondary modern" was increasingly becoming a dirty word, and in any event it would not do in the new context of junior comprehensive schools. The term "high schools" was one which carried a flavour of respectability and substance, and this was desirable not merely to please the staffs of the schools but much more important to help to give parents confidence in the status of the new school role. On the other hand, "grammar" was a term which connoted a tradition of honour and pride and to have attempted to pluck it away from institutions many of which had borne it for decades and even centuries would have raised a wail of protest. Again time softens all things, and as the climate changed the committee were able in 1967 to get the agreement of the schools concerned to re-name them "upper schools", a term which by then had become for most actually more acceptable than "grammar schools".

During the discussions with heads and others great care was taken to meet fears that the change might adversely affect standards in the schools. This was particularly important to the grammar schools, since the opponents of comprehensive education up and down the country argued (intuitively, for no proof was available) that only through the selective system could the best brains on which the future of the nation depended be adequately trained. Any re-organisation along the lines proposed would need to postulate and ultimately to demonstrate that the "top quarter" would do as well academically as under the tri-partite system. At this preliminary stage the grammar schools heads who as a body were otherwise broadly sympathetic to the scheme, were insistent that means should be found to preserve in their schools their "fast stream".

Practice in grammar schools in most parts of the country had been to place their most gifted children in homogeneous streams, or classes, which prepared for "O" level examinations in four, rather than the normal five years. This enabled pupils to enter the sixth forms early and prepare for "A" level and university examinations over a period of three rather than two years. It was a way of improving examination results and of enabling deserving pupils to enter (in an increasingly competitive situation) universities of their choice.

The solution adopted to follow on after the initial 12 per cent direct entry had run itself out was to admit to the high schools at the age of 10+ a group of the brightest children equivalent in size to the "fast stream", namely about 8 per cent of the age group. They would spend three years in the high school like the rest and then be able to opt with the rest to go on to the grammar school, that is at 13 instead of 14. This and the fact that the grammar schools would only receive at 14 those pupils who would undertake to stay on at school for two more years - that whatever the level of their intelligence they were well motivated - removed what might well have proved insuperable opposition on the part of the grammar schools. Meanwhile, more positively, they were able to appreciate the advantages of the more adult atmosphere which would result from taking only older age groups. It is interesting to note that this early promotion on which the grammar schools at the start set such great store was reduced with the ready agreement of all concerned to 5 per cent in 19 and in 1964 was abandoned altogether. (No primary school was in fact precluded from suggesting early promotion in the case of any particular exceptional child - but in practice this was very seldom done).

Criticism particularly in the early years was levelled at the Leicestershire system by comprehensive purists on both these points - early promotion, and the undertaking to stay two years. The first as has been seen, was soon abandoned, while the history of the second will be described below. In fact, the promotion at 14 plus of the entire age group to the grammar schools, with some of the pupils only staying at school for one or two terms before leaving for a job would have been totally unacceptable to the schools concerned. To have tried to insist on it on ideological grounds would have brought the scheme down in ruins. The experiment depended upon a delicate balance of give and take on which could be built an overall consensus.

A further aspect of the proposals which made them attractive to a large section of opinion was that by dividing secondary schooling into two tiers they provided for the retention of medium and even relatively small-sized schools within a comprehensive system. Many people at this time found selection at 11 distasteful and were basically sympathetic to the idea of comprehensive education but shied away from the notion of schools of 2,000 or even 1,500, which though common in America and elsewhere were out of keeping with the English tradition and with generally accepted notions regarding pastoral care. In any event large schools in rural areas would mean that some pupils would have extremely long and arduous journeys. On the other hand a more mundane consideration, which appealed both to the hard-headed economists at one extreme and to the enthusiasts who wanted to see reforms come more speedily at the other, was that this scheme enabled the existing secondary schools to be fully utilised, and progress could thus become far less dependent on getting new school projects into a tightly-rationed national building programme.

The considerations enumerated above are all of a general nature. There was however one particular ingredient in the success of the project which should not be overlooked. Chapter I referred to the fact that Stewart Mason was only the second director of education the county had had since 1902. This exceptional continuity was paralleled at council level by a very remarkable and distinguished man possessing (so it is reported) both wit and charm and a rapier-like mind backed by an encyclopaedic memory, Sir Robert Martin. He was a tremendous enthusiast for education and exercised a unique influence on the Leicestershire County Council. It must be very rare indeed for one man to enjoy simultaneously chairmanship of the Education Committee and of the County Council, but he held the former office from 1924 to 1961 and the latter from 1924 to 1960. He wholeheartedly supported the proposal. Equal support came from the vice chairman of the Education Committee Mr. A.G. Hilton,who was a member of the County Council from 1943 to 1964.

Given the requirements of the 1944 Act, a scheme of reorganisation of this sort could well have run into trouble with the Ministry of Education. The view however was taken that there was nothing in the scheme that contravened the Education Act. This view was of vital importance to the education authority, particularly since statements by Dr. W.P. Alexander (later Sir William Alexander), the secretary of the Association of Education Committees, were interpreted or rather misinterpreted as indicating that in his view the Leicestershire proposals were of doubtful legality.

Certainly had the authority been putting forward such a scheme today, it would have involved publishing statutory notices of their intention (as outlined in Section 13 of the Act, as amended by the Education Act 1968) without any power to proceed until each case had been approved by the Minister (now Secretary of State) after the due period for objections. Arising out of this amending Act which enlarged and defined the occasions when notices must be published it has been determined that any proposal to change the age span of a school by a year or more requires notices. In 1957 however, since the schools concerned retained their existing pupils, staff, buildings, location and governors, no one considered that the old schools were being discontinued and new ones established, which at that time would have been the only situation to have required notices.

Nonetheless the Ministry made it clear that no projects would be admitted into a building programme merely on grounds that they assisted the re-organisation in the county. They would be assessed strictly according to whether they were necessary as "basic need", i.e. to keep pace with additional numbers of pupils who would have been there anyway no matter what the form of the school organisation. It was however perhaps significant that the allocations in building programmes that the authority was able to extract from the Ministry in the four years from 1958-59 to 1961-62 suddenly and consistently dropped to a level roughly three-fifths below that of the previous three years, despite the fact that the population of the county was growing at an ever increasing rate. There is no doubt that this seriously impeded the speed with which the scheme was extended beyond the two pilot areas, creating a gap of four years - between 1960 and 1964 - before this was possible. These lean years probably delayed completion of the scheme over the whole county by two or three years.

THE PILOT AREAS

The choice of the two experimental areas was based on four criteria. The first was that the district should as far as possible be self-contained. It was essential that all pupils in the area should be within easy reach of the grammar school within the scheme, thus creating a natural unit which might discourage parents from trying to secure places for their children in an all-age grammar school outside the selected district. Secondly it was thought desirable that the area should be compact so that consultation among affected heads and staff could take place and if necessary teaching strength could be shared among the schools. Thirdly an area had to be chosen where the pressure on accommodation was not too heavy to contain the numbers particularly in the high-schools-to-be which initially would have larger intake than outflow. It was also vital that the physical conditions were good enough to reassure the public and particularly the parents of children who would otherwise have gone to the grammar school; in this connection good laboratory facilities were regarded as essential. Fourthly it was essential to count on genuine belief in and enthusiasm from the heads concerned for the idea. This last criterion has already been mentioned.

A number of areas ruled themselves out immediately. Leicestershire in some areas was over-endowed with small county grammar schools and here there was much cross traffic and choice offered. Such areas would have created impossible complications. In the event only five areas appeared worth considering. Two of these, Coalville and Melton Mowbray, were ruled out due to accommodation problems. Of the remaining three, Hinckley, a town on the south western borders of the county, and the Oadby Wigston complex on the southern edge of the City were chosen. Birstall, on the northern edge of the City, the fifth candidate was rejected, as has been explained, because some teachers in the area showed reluctance.

The two chosen areas made an interesting contrast, although this did not enter into the choice which was strictly practical and had nothing to do with socio-educational research. Hinckley Grammar School had a long tradition going back to the 15th century. It was in most respects a good selective school serving the needs of a busy and largely self-contained industrial town, based for the most part on the boot, shoe and hosiery industries. These (particularly hosiery) offered opportunities for quick money which tempted many young people, particularly girls, to leave school as soon as possible. Consequently the demand for grammar education was perhaps more modest than in many parts of the county or country. The grammar school which as elsewhere in the county absorbed 25 per cent of the 11 plus age group was nonetheless highly regarded in the town and served well the needs of the more ambitious parents. The area contained four secondary modern schools, soon reduced to three as a result of a re-organisation which established co-education throughout the town. Some tribute should be paid to the headmaster of the grammar school, Mr. Frank Oldham, who though nearing retirement and therefore scarcely looking for a major upheaval, nonetheless shouldered his new responsibilities with cheerfulness and ever-growing pride.

Oadby and Wigston presented a contrast. While Wigston contained a fair amount of industry and of low-value property, the urban district of Oadby was a rapidly expanding dormitory of the City attracting members of the rapidly growing executive class. The grammar school serving these districts, Guthlaxton School, had been built only 2 years before and was situated in Wigston. There were three secondary modern schools to feed into it as high schools. The headmaster, as at Hinckley, was not far off retirement and he proved to be a tremendous enthusiast for the idea.

The socio-economic discrepancy between the two pilot areas was clearly revealed in the extent to which, in the early years of the experiment, pupils opted at 14 - with the undertaking to stay two years - to go on to the grammar school. It should be mentioned that there was no means of legally enforcing the pupils' undertaking and there was always a trickle of pupils who, having opted for the grammar school, nevertheless dropped out for one reason or another at fifteen. However, their number never grew large enough to cause serious concern. The authority had formulated its proposals on the assumption that if 40 per cent of the pupils from the high schools opted to go on - and it was anticipated this figure might be reached if not immediately, then within three years or so - the accommodation of the high schools and grammar schools would be balanced. In the event, in 1957 a total of 117 pupils transferred to Guthlaxton representing 23.7 per cent of the total number of children not already in a grammar school, which meant that over 41 per cent of the total 14-year-old age group was in the new type of grammar school. At Hinckley only 9 per cent of those eligible to transfer did so, making the total of 14-year-olds in the grammar school 31.12 per cent.

This was the first year. Year by year, the number of pupils opting for grammar schools increased. Area by area figures and county averages are contained in Appendix 1. From the first year, and increasingly as time went by, the number opting to stay at least a year beyond the statutory school leaving age of 15 became substantially greater in the pilot areas than in those parts of the county that remained selective and indeed than in the country as a whole.

ASSESSMENT AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION

When the scheme was first being considered as a limited experiment it engendered so much enthusiasm that the Education Committee in its report to the County Council indicated that it was already looking further ahead:

> "Your Committee's further consideration of the scheme has confirmed its belief in its educational and social advantages. It would therefore desire that any demand for an expansion of the scheme to other districts should be acceded to provide that the conditions to make it feasible should be present, and that unless there are unforeseen objections, it be applied throughout the County as speedily as may be practicable."

The first year did nothing to dampen this initial ardour. On the contrary by the second year there was clearly a mood to push on. A memorandum to the school organisation and staffing subcommittee on 13 February 1959 from the director was headed Leicestershire Experiment - The Next Phase. In this paper the director set out to assess the results of the experiment in order to prepare the way for a decision on whether or not the reorganisation should be extended to other parts of the county. At the time the experiment was only halfway through its second year and admittedly no conclusive answers or self-evident proof were available.

Nevertheless, evidence was collected to find out whether:

- the high schools and grammar schools had been able to adapt themselves to their new functions;
- the estimate of about 40 per cent of children accepting the opportunity to transfer to the grammar school was accurate;
- the primary schools had taken advantage of the scheme to enliven their methods of teaching and to enrich their curricula;
- the new scheme had been well received by the public, and in particular by parents.

This evidence included factual data and opinion; much of it was provided from within the county, but it should be noted that the experiment had been under continuous and detailed scrutiny by other LEA's.

On the first point, it seems clear that the high schools had been able to provide specialist teaching to a greater extent than had been anticipated. For example, in seven out of eight high schools there were teachers already on the staff who could teach Latin over the first three years of the secondary school course. Improved allowances (about which more later) helped recruitment and only in mathematics and science were the difficulties common nationally to all secondary schools experienced. Again, the high schools welcomed the intellectually very able children and found that the loss of the most senior pupils was not as serious a disadvantage as had been anticipated. The fourth year youngsters frequently rose to the responsibilities of leadership which would otherwise have been denied them.

As for the grammar schools they had been able to absorb 14 plus transfers, all of whom, at the time of this assessment, were eleven-plus failures, without treating this group as a separate and inferior element in the school. Many of these pupils were capable of being taught in some subjects alongside "selected" children. Practical and workshop subjects were introduced, the development of which will be referred to in the section on innovations in the internal organisation of the upper schools.

On the question of the number of pupils who might choose to go on to the grammar schools the estimate was well founded. The fact that this estimate (or guess) had been justified was comforting because it meant that no drastic re-organisation of the existing school provision was called for.

The effects on primary schools were clear. The situation in Leicestershire and throughout the country was that many primary schools, in spite of the bogey of selection at eleven-plus were becoming more experimental in their teaching methods. The atmosphere in these schools was becoming more relaxed and relationships between teachers and children less formal and more friendly. These features took a considerable leap forward in the Leicestershire primary schools which fed the experimental high schools. The 1959 memorandum says:

"No one could have foreseen the speed and eagerness with which most of the primary schools have seized upon their new opportunities. This is particularly noticeable in mathematics in which most exciting enterprises are on foot." This impetus towards a new approach to learning in the primary schools has gathered momentum over subsequent years, with a great enrichment of the curriculum and a shift of emphasis from class teaching towards individual learning. These developments will be described in detail in a later chapter.

Finally, on the issue of public acceptance, there was by 1959 evidence to suggest that in many instances parents were moving into experimental areas, that there was a "noticeable return to the fold of children from private schools", and the authority had received many enquiries from parents in other parts of the county wanting to know when the scheme would be extended to them.

The memorandum went on to suggest that the third area, centred on Birstall, which had previously been rejected in favour of Oadby/Wigston and Hinckley, could come into the scheme on completion of the new Longslade Grammar School in 1960. It also suggested that the Melton area, subject to certain building projects getting into a programme, might be included in 1962, and that the area centred round Coalville and Ashby should also be examined as a further candidate for re-organisation.

The school organisation subcommittee thereupon recommended to the full Education Committee that the scheme should in future be referred to as the "Leicestershire Plan" rather than the Leicestershire experiment. This was agreed and confirmed by the County Council.

In September 1960 the area adjacent to the City on the north and east sides came into the scheme with the new Longslade School, Birstall as the senior grammar school. Though it was not originally planned for this purpose but as an all-through selective school it was the first upper school to receive unselected pupils at 14 plus from the very first days of its existence.

Delays in getting necessary projects approved by the DES for inclusion in building programmes created a four-year gap after Birstall joined the Plan in 1960 before the next step could be taken. Then, in 1964, the Melton and Market Harborough areas were incorporated, thus extending the Plan to the whole of the eastern half of the county. In 1967, the Loughborough and Quorn areas in the north, Coalville and Ashby in the north-west and Lutterworth in the south were included. Market Bosworth, the last remaining area, was re-organised in 1969. This progressive introduction of the Plan can be seen at a glance from the map given in Appendix 2.

OPPOSITION AND ITS DEFEAT

During September and October 1959 the director held twelve meetings with the governors and teachers of various schools or groups of schools at Melton, Ashby, Coalville, Birstall. At Melton Grammar School there had been a small but vociferous group of staff who had publicly advertised their opposition to the Plan and sought from local county councillors support which had not been forthcoming. As a result of the meeting with the staff of the Grammar School the attitude of the majority of the staff appeared to be favourable. At all the other meetings the impression gained was of overwhelming support - with one exception, Ashby Boys' Grammar School.

This was an "aided" school, which meant it had somewhat more independence than an ordinary "maintained" state school. Governors of aided schools have a degree of dependence from their LEA inherited from the time before the 1944 Act when these schools were private schools endowed by charities - often the Church - or supported by pupils' fees. In particular, aided school governors have the legal right to say which pupils shall, and which shall not, attend the school.

A new headmaster had recently been appointed to Ashby Grammar School who was strongly opposed to the Plan and carried his governors with him. Unnecessary acrimony was caused by the governors forwarding to the national press unknown to the Authority a declaration of opposition, when all that had so far taken place was a purely exploratory meeting at domestic level. In November the governors of the Coalville secondary schools officially informed the Education Committee that they would welcome the extension of the Plan to their area as soon as suitable facilities were available. In March and April 1960 the governors of the two secondary modern schools in the Ashby area voted overwhelmingly (in one case unanimously) in favour of the Plan, and the governors of the Ashby Girls Grammar School did likewise. Since it was known that the primary schools were unitedly in favour, this left the Boys' Grammar School isolated and alone holding up progress in the area. As the Coalville area was close to Ashby, they also would have to stand and wait - though neither area was ripe to come into the scheme until additional buildings could be made available. The advice of the director, which the Committee accepted, was that time was on their side, and that public opinion would gently and remorselessly make itself felt. So for the time being plans for extension in that part of the county were put into storage, until, sure enough, in October 1963 the governors of the Ashby Boys' Grammar School informed the Committee that they accepted the extension of the Plan.

I have mentioned earlier the exceptional number of very small grammar schools in Leicestershire. These had all been charitably founded and endowed in past times and were mostly situated in villages outside the growing centres of population. The future of these schools was anyway in jeopardy, since it was becoming ever more difficult to deny expanding town populations their own schools and to transport their children to remote villages instead.

In a comprehensive system the problem became at once more acute, since very small upper schools could not possibly sustain the range of facilities, especially practical ones, which a senior comprehensive school required. Moreover the over-provision of such schools could put the system out of balance. As has been seen in the two first experimental areas, the upper school could well sustain a 40 per cent transfer rate from three high schools without becoming an enormous school. But it was clear that the transfer rate would greatly increase and, moreover, the school-leaving age was due eventually to be raised to 16. However, while a 2:1 ratio between high schools and upper schools could be contemplated, a 1:1 was simply not economically viable.

The first of these small county grammar schools to change its status was the Beauchamp Grammar School at Kibworth, a village midway between Leicester and Market Harborough. In December 1960 the director had met the governors of this school and explained to them that a new upper school would have to be built at Oadby, since Guthlaxton School could no longer contain the ever growing school population of the expanding Oadby/Wigston area. The Committee wanted to transfer the Grammar School to Oadby and use the existing buildings at Kibworth as a high school. In February 1961 the governors agreed to this course, and decided to keep the endowment associated with the existing buildings at Kibworth, rather than transfer them to the new location of the "Beauchamp Grammar School" at Oadby. The Beauchamp School at Oadby opened in 1964 with the existing head and such staff as wished to transfer from Kibworth together with all pupils over the age of 14.

It then became possible to make the Kibworth High School a contributory to Market Harborough Grammar School and bring this area into the Plan.

However matters did not go so smoothly in the area of the Soar Valley, north of Leicester, between Birstall and Loughborough. Here there were two such small village grammar schools, Rawlins School at Quorn and Humphrey Perkins School at Barrow-upon-Soar, both less than one mile apart as the crow flies. The fact that two grammar schools in such close proximity could not be viable had already been partially conceded when, in 1956, Humphrey Perkins became a "bilateral" school combining its previous functions as a grammar school with a wide catchment area with those of a secondary modern school for the immediately surrounding area. By 1960 the proportion of secondary modern to grammar pupils was of the order of 2:1. The Committee's proposals, first discussed in January 1961, for extending the Plan to the Soar Valley would have made the Rawlins School, Quorn, the upper school and Humphrey Perkins, Barrow, the high school. While the governors of Rawlins agreed, the governors of Humphrey Perkins refused.

It is important to stress that this was not a quarrel over the Leicestershire pattern of comprehensive education versus selective education as had been the case at Ashby Boys' Grammar School. In February the governors of Humphrey Perkins prefaced counter proposals with the recommendation that "the Plan be introduced as quickly as possible". The dispute centred entirely on the desire of the Humphrey Perkins governors that their school should be the senior school, and in this they were subsequently backed by the Old Pupils' Association and the local community. A large number of meetings was held during the course of the year in a vain endeavour to reach agreement, and the governors of Humphrey Perkins then referred the matter to the Minister of Education for arbitration. This would seem to have been something a Conservative Minister was reluctant to undertake, for the matter rested there unanswered until in October 1964 when the Labour Government was returned to power, and one of the first actions of the new Minister was to resolve the dispute in favour of the Leicestershire Education Authority. The Committee had, incidentally, undertaken to guarantee the posts of responsibility held by members of staff at Humphrey Perkins either there or in alternative posts close by, and this promise was duly fulfilled.

Minor problems were also created in the case of one other small country grammar school. This was the Dixie School, at Market Bosworth, the oldest Leicestershire school, founded in the 11th century, which now had inadequate buildings and facilities, and was outside the surrounding areas of population growth. Here, as at Kibworth, the realities of the situation impelled the Committee to plan to build a new upper school nearer to the concentrations of population, and the site finally chosen was at the rapidly expanding village of Desford, much nearer to the edge of the City of Leicester. Eventually, the new upper school opened in the autumn of 1969 and, as at Kibworth, the head, staff and pupils transferred to the new buildings. The old buildings provided urgently needed expansion room for the re-organisation of the local secondary modern school as a high school. This filled in the last gap in this part of the Plan. The Committee had always hoped the Trustees of the Dixie School Foundation would wish to remain attached to one or other of the schools, but in the event they decided to become an independent educational trust, and to the disappointment of many the name of Dixie ceased to be attached to either school.

These paragraphs illustrate the care which the Committee always took not to break up existing staff communities. No step that was taken to achieve the Plan ever involved the loss of job or status - only, at the worst, a change in location.

A further small but significant obstacle in the path of the full introduction of the Plan arose from the existence in Loughborough of two "direct grant" schools, one for boys and one for girls.

The 176 direct grant schools in England and Wales hold a unique - some say anomalous - status half way between independent fee-paying schools and ordinary fully "maintained" schools. They do take fee-paying pupils but they are also subsidised by a direct grant from the Government (not from LEA's) on condition that they offer at least 25 per cent of their places "free" to children nominated and paid for by the LEA in whose area they are situated.

The Leicestershire Education Committee would indeed have rejoiced if the two Loughborough direct grant schools could have been persuaded to join in with the Plan, but they were, like virtually all direct grant schools, wedded to the selective principle, and would not contemplate this. Their status meant that the Leicestershire Authority had no power to insist that they should co-operate. So it appeared that there would be no alternative for the authority but to abandon its purchase of selective places at these two schools. A provisional concordat was reached with the governors to do this by gradual stages over a few years in order to enable the two schools to adjust to the new situation without a sudden bump.

When the Labour Government came into office and issued Circular 10/65, asking LEA's to submit plans for comprehensive re-organisation, the Committee re-opened negotiations with the governors of the two schools, and agreed to increase their purchase of places at the schools from 25 per cent of the total roll of the school to 50 per cent, provided the pupils sent there were spread evenly over the top half of the intelligence range and not bunched towards the top end. This scheme is now in operation, the children of those parents who wish them to go to the direct grant schools taking a single verbal ability test in order to regulate the spread of ability. Naturally the Committee hopes that time will again be on its side and that in due course the schools will accept pupils right across the ability range.

One source of conflict which might have been anticipated in Leicestershire were the Roman Catholic Church authorities.

A significant minority of schools throughout England and Wales are "aided" church schools. These are schools which, before the 1944 Act, were endowed and run independently by diocesan authorities, Church of England and Catholic. They still, as has been explained, have some degree of self-determination, though they are largely financed by LEA's. The LEA's are, however, charged with the obligation to allow, where possible, enough places in the aided schools of the different denominations to meet the number of children so baptised among the local population. The Roman Catholics, being usually in the minority, have sometimes come into conflict with LEA's over this and other matters. It is not always easy for an LEA with plans for re-organisation to be able to carry with them the Roman Catholic hierarchy with their own "aided" schools - especially where the number of RC children are insufficient to provide viable units.

However, throughout the years from 1957 onwards the relations between the committee and the Roman Catholic hierarchy have been most cordial. The main difficulty has been to collect a sufficient number of RC pupils to be able to establish an RC upper school. So far, in the northern half of the county a previous secondary modern school has for the time being become a small all-through 11-18 comprehensive school while in the south west an RC high school feeds into the county's upper school at Hinckley. Two more high schools are planned as and when they can get into a building programme and an upper school to follow. In the meantime the Catholics have been willing, where their own schools are not available, to use the normal county schools for the area.

There have of course been criticisms levelled at the Plan by many who favour other patterns of comprehensive re-organisation, for the variety of accepted patterns has markedly increased over the last half dozen years. However that may be, there can be no doubt that the Plan caught the imagination of the teachers and the general public within the county and won their support.

Perhaps the most striking concrete example of this was given when, in 1962, the Government Commission on Local Government recommended that the City of Leicester should expand to incorporate within its boundaries large areas of adjoining population. By then the greater part of the fringe area around the city was in the Leicestershire Plan, and the city had to make it clear that if it was incorporated it would revert to the selective system operated by the city. It is generally conceded that this was the one area, as the Commission went around the country, where education became the major issue.

In the event, all the surrounding populated areas, apart from two City housing estates, remained within the control of the county. It is generally thought that this was largely due to the strength of opposition to the prospect of a return to selective education.

MODIFICATIONS OF THE PLAN

There has never been a doctrinaire attitude within the county towards the Plan. Throughout there has been a pragmatic approach which has allowed certain modifications since its introduction in 1957.

One of these has already been described, namely the arrangements to preserve the 'fast stream' which after a little while were abandoned. A more important change concerned the size of upper schools.

In 1957 as has been stated earlier there was a strong feeling in the county and indeed in the country generally against the very size of the all-through 11-18 comprehensive schools. It is clear from the memoranda that went to the school organisation subcommittee that one of the main advantages of the Plan was that it would not be necessary to have schools, including upper schools, much larger than 700 plus. However, pressure of numbers accompanied by failure to get adequate building allocations from the Ministry to cope with the situation forced the authority to erect rows of temporary wooden classrooms at Guthlaxton Upper School, where the school roll reached over 1,000 by 1961 and over 1,300 by 1968.

In February 1965 the director put a memorandum to the Committee which was agreed, proposing that while as a general rule high schools should not exceed 700+, upper schools could go up to around 1,500. The argument was that the younger the child the less desirable was a very large school, but that a community for "young grown ups" as a school for 14 to 18 year olds might be described, was psychologically strong enough not to be overwhelmed by size. Under these circumstances the wealth of facilities and opportunities a school of that size could offer became of greater importance at that stage in a young person's development. The result has been that the increase in numbers at upper school level has in general been met by the enlargement of existing schools rather than the building of new ones. Even so two new ones (at Countesthorpe and Syston/Wreake Valley) each for nearly 1,500 students have had to be built. Exceptionally, at Hinckley, building extensions are under way to bring the upper school up to over 1,800.

In 1965 the Committee formally decided what had been anticipated for some time, that when the school leaving age was raised to 16, all pupils would automatically transfer from the high school at 14 - since all would automatically spend at least two years there. Two years later it was decided that in the interim where the voluntary option rate of transfer reached 80 per cent it would be most sensible to transfer the complete age group, without seeking any undertaking to stay two years. This came into operation in Birstall in 1967, Oadby in 1968, Countesthorpe in 1970. In 1971 in a large number of cases at the request of the localities there was 100 per cent transfer in anticipation of the raising of the school leaving age in 1972.

In 1968 the Director proposed to the Committee a move towards establishing a four year span at the high schools, by the promotion of children from the primary schools at 10+ instead of 11+. The principle got a favourable reception, and in 1970 it was put into operation in the areas of three high schools, at Castle Donington, Shepshed and at Bottesford. In these areas this latest modification appears to have got off to a very good start and has undoubtedly won the support of the localities. However a proposal to follow this up in 1971 with a similar change in Thurmaston has run into considerable local opposition and has therefore for the time being been put in abeyance. It is the committee's intention only to proceed as and when new school building required for the ever growing population allows.

Chapter IV

FREEDOM TO EDUCATE

CURRICULUM CONTROL

As Chapter III shows it is the job of the LEA to decide what kind of schools to provide and how and when children should transfer from one kind to another. But how and what children learn when they get there, though subject to a number of external influences, is the clear responsibility of the head and his staff.

The 1944 Education Act does not mention the curriculum except to say that every maintained school is required to begin each day with a religious assembly and provide religious instruction (Section 25). Parents are able under a "conscience clause" to withdraw their children wholly, or in part, from these religious observances. "Agreed" syllabuses for religious instruction are drawn up by local committees representing both education and church interests. In general, courses in religious instruction are non-sectarian in character. Apart from this statutory requirement, individual schools are free to select and organise the content of education as they think fit. This is a very firmly held principle throughout England and Wales.

Certainly neither the Government nor political parties feel justified in attempting directly to influence the schools in what they do. DES officials are equally hesitant. H.M.I.s act only as assessors or stimulators: they have no power to direct. The same may be said of the LEA's. Education committees have no statutory power to influence the content of education in their schools, bound as they are by the 1944 Act. Consequently, LEA's and their officers are in a position to exert only an indirect influence on the quality of education. But however indirect, this influence is more tangible and far reaching than any of the others. There are good schools everywhere; but an enlightened authority advised by a vigorous and imaginative director of education is far more likely to have more of them than places where these qualities are less evident. The director of education and his senior professional administrative staff are people who advise committees and their role in helping to improve the quality of life in schools is crucial: significantly they are themselves nearly always qualified teachers with good and often substantial teaching experience.

Inspectors or advisers appointed by the LEA have a similar, but more direct, role to play in the schools than the H.M[illegible] Their influence can be considerable since in general they are in even closer touch with the schools than are the permanent officials in the local education department. Their number, variety and quality will inevitably reflect the importance which the director of education attaches to their functions, and since they constitute part of his staff the nature of their duties will be largely determined by him. The role of some advisers in Leicestershire will be described in some detail later.

Another way in which an authority can influence the quality of education in its schools is by its staffing policy. Head and assistant teachers are employees of the local education authority. Their salary scales are nationally determined and the DES lays down mandatory standards for posts of extra responsibility (on the basis of pupil numbers) which carry an addition to the basic salary. The authority has some discretion in the creation of head of department posts and the salaries attached to them. In general, teachers are on incremental salary scales so that up to a maximum level the longer a teacher has been in the service the higher his or her salary.

In Leicestershire policies on recruitment, employment and payment of teachers and other professional staff have been designed to find and promote personnel of quality committed to the general objectives of the authority but with an originality of outlook which makes them willing to accept and indeed to introduce innovations and work them out in practice. This feature of Leicestershire's management policies will be dealt with later.

Few schools are, of course, free to do exactly as they choose. External examinations exert an influence. The pressure of the "eleven-plus" on primary schools has been mentioned. However, Leicestershire, by its total re-organisation into a comprehensive system, was able to abolish this examination in part of its area from 1957 and over the whole county by 1969, so that its primary schools have been completely freed from this form of external pressure. At the secondary stage G.C.E. "O" (ordinary) level examination, normally taken at sixteen, and "A" (advanced) level, at eighteen, have helped to determine what is done in schools.

Since "A" level results are used by the universities for the purpose of selecting candidates the influence of this examination on the schools is still very profound. However, in Leicestershire, one result of re-organising schools into a three-tier system with "middle" or high schools taking pupils up to the age of fourteen, has been to reduce the downward pressure of these external examinations. Certainly they have now ceased in any way to affect the first two years of the high school course, i.e. up to the age of thirteen plus.

The G.C.E. examination was aimed at the top quarter of the intelligence range. As a result of pressure to introduce a paper qualification for pupils lower down the intelligence scale the Certificate of Secondary Education (C.S.E.) examination was established in 1965. In response to the opposition of a large number of educationists to the further proliferation of external examinations, the C.S.E. gave scope for far more by individual teachers. This examination is free of university control and is administered from 13 independent regional centres comprising the local education authorities and their teachers.

The C.S.E. examination has three "modes" from which a choice can be made. In the first two modes, syllabuses and examination questions are laid down by a committee external to the school. In the "mode III" C.S.E. examination, however, teachers in individual schools set and mark the papers. The pupils' course work over the preceding two years can be assessed as a major part of the examination. High levels of achievement in C.S.E. are regarded as equivalent to passes in the G.C.E. and are taken into account by universities when they make their selection from among applicants from the schools.

The introduction of the C.S.E. mode III type of examination was an important potential step in freeing schools to organise studies within them in the way teachers thought best. The schools of Leicestershire immediately seized on this opportunity, and it was through their exertions and that of the Leicestershire LEA that this mode was adequately prepared for when the East Midlands C.S.E. examination board - one of the 13 - was constituted.

The major teacher associations in Britain have never acted as powerful pressure groups in curriculum development. They have represented the specific interests of their particular members. Thus the Joint Four Associations have, in general, favoured the retention of grammar schools and their traditions since most of their members were employed in these schools. The National Union of Teachers, by far the largest of the unions, has traditionally protected the interests of primary school and secondary modern school teachers. For many years it has been committed to a matter of policy re-organisation along comprehensive lines. The National Association of Schoolmasters presses the claims of men rather than women teachers. Only insofar as curriculum issues touch these varied interests are the associations and unions likely to become involved.

There are however a number of smaller associations which bring together teachers whose interests centre on particular subjects or areas of the curriculum, e.g. science, modern languages, mathematics, geography, history, etc. These associations have, over the years, had some influence in developing new approaches to the subjects in question, in suggesting novel ways of organising the material to be taught, and in introducing new content. Consequently, they have significant roles to play in formulating innovative policies and implementing them in the schools.

At the national level the Schools Council was set up in 1964 to ask and help to answer the question what school children should be taught and how they should be taught. The Council is representative of the whole educational service, including the universities, the DES, H.M. Inspectorate and teachers who are in a majority. The specific aims of the Council are to promote and develop curriculum study and to promote and to sponsor research into immediate and practical problems.

Another national agency should also be mentioned. It is the Nuffield Foundation which has supported curriculum projects in the sciences, modern language teaching and the humanities. These projects have included pilot experiments in schools throughout the country and have been designed to enrich curricula at primary and secondary stages of education and to find how selected new material can best be introduced.

The extent to which Stewart Mason and his senior colleagues sought to involve their schools in national projects run by the Schools Council and the Nuffield Foundation has been a significant element in the success of their educational innovations. And probably of even greater importance has been the promotion of many curriculum projects within the county based on the work of individual pioneers, e.g. Z.P. Dienes and R.R. Skemp in mathematics, and the constant encouragement of experiment and innovation by the teachers in each of the Authority's schools.

CHOOSING TEACHERS

A strongly held and frequently affirmed principle in England is that the head teacher is "captain of his ship". Moreover it will not surprise anyone to learn that Leicestershire heads enjoy a professional freedom which is probably unsurpassed in any other LEA. Great care is taken to choose the right kind of person as a head, then to encourage him/her to run things as he/she thinks fit, with help and encouragement, on request from the office and the advisory services. This freedom is naturally passed down the line and assistant teachers are selected within the schools with equal care and once appointed they too have a great deal of freedom to exercise initiative and to educate children and young people in the light of their own commitment to education, and their particular talents and style. It is evident that many teachers do feel free and are thus able to bring to bear on their work a great sense of liveliness.

What Stewart Mason and his committee tried to do is to create conditions where teachers are encouraged to think for themselves and then to put their ideas into practice. There is no official "line", no centrally-held dogma, no-one telling teachers that there is any royal road to salvation. Not surprisingly, therefore, Leicestershire teachers, being free themselves to work out what they feel is in the best educational interests of the children, have over the years passed on this freedom to the children. This helps to explain why child-centred approaches to learning are so widely followed in Leicestershire schools and why the authority's reputation for good teacher relations and innovation stands so high. This innovation has occurred within a system in which the turnover of teachers is, in accordance with national levels, about 15 per cent each year; but there is in most schools an air of stability and continuity. The continuity provided by the two directors of education, each with a national reputation, has been a strong contributing factor here.

Leicestershire has never been insular in its appointments: the best man (or woman) has always got the job and about half the headships in Leicestershire have gone to candidates from other authorities. Only those from authorities whose heads are appointed exclusively from inside are ineligible for Leicestershire headships. Typically, though, the authority will always prefer the Leicestershire teacher where he is running neck and neck with the best out-county candidate. It seems clear that the success of the Plan and the publicity it has received have helped to draw open-minded teachers with the right kind of personalities to the county. While some authorities have continually suffered shortages Leicestershire has had no difficulty in attracting candidates for the vast majority of posts. Of course schools in built up areas are more attractive to teachers than small schools in remote rural areas, but here too there have been no serious problems.

Teachers are selected in various ways. A pool of teachers straight from colleges and departments of education is created each year. Schools draw on this pool of new teachers for existing vacancies and for other vacancies, as they arise, as the summer term progresses, but no head teacher has to take anyone he is not happy to accept. Most first-appointment applicants are from outside the county and each year Leicestershire attracts many more first-appointment candidates than it has jobs to offer.

Other posts are filled by advertising in the press. Selection procedures vary quite considerably but it is the head who plays the major role in selection. What each head looks for varies but there is a strong emphasis on personality. Qualifications are not overlooked but for the most part there seems no disposition to prefer graduates to teachers trained in colleges of education. Indeed many head teachers welcome a mix of age and type of training among their staff.

Final selection procedures vary too. In general, however, short-listed candidates are given an opportunity to spend half a day or more in the school to assess conditions and see how the school is run. They chat informally to members of the staff so that several opinions are available on the suitability of each candidate. Equally the candidate has by this means the opportunity of assessing whether he will feel at home in the new situation. The larger the school and the more senior the age range the more will the appointment involve other members of the staff, e.g. heads of departments in addition to the head. At one upper school the devolution of assistant appointments has gone further still and is left in the hands of a small committee on which naturally the head of the department concerned plays an important role.

In some schools candidates called for interview are invited to perform some task: for example, applicants for a music post are likely to be asked to rehearse the orchestra or choir. French teachers are asked to converse in French. In such specialist appointments the county's appropriate adviser may well be involved.

In theory, according to the rules of management of county primary schools the boards of managers make the appointment of assistant teachers in consultation with the headmaster. Such appointments are subject to confirmation by the LEA. The governors of county secondary schools have similar powers of appointment. In fact the headmaster's view, with those of his staff, is almost certain to prevail and it is common practice for managers or governors to leave all but the most responsible appointments entirely to the head and his staff. The Leicestershire Education Committee's Handbook for Guidance for Governors and Managers makes it clear that the latter have a modest but vital role to play as partners in the educational process.

The appointment of heads involves the director of education or his representative, members of the Education Committee and governors or managers of an existing school. Stewart Mason consistently held that of all his duties the most important was the appointment of heads, and it would appear that in Leicestershire more than usual care is taken in these appointments. All vacancies are publicly advertised and the first step is the reduction of applications, which may in a few cases reach three figures, to a manageable size, for intensive enquiries. This preliminary work is regarded as of the utmost importance and decisions are made not by a single individual but by at least two of the most senior administrators including - for all the larger schools - the director himself. In recent years the Committee has authorised these administrators to preliminary interview up to say ten candidates, from which a selection of three or four is made for interview by the appointing committee. In this way the likelihood of missing first class candidates from the paper selection is reduced, and the Committee have more time to devote to those who appear before them. Whenever he could, Stewart Mason himself conducted these "previews" and was also present to advise the appointing committee. Otherwise, a senior colleague took his place.

The way Leicestershire appoint their heads illustrates not only how important they think this is but also the relationship between those present at such appointments; three governors or managers representing the school and the local community; three members of the Education Committee; and the director of education or his representative. The relationship between these three parties is one of partnership. Each has his role to play and each needs the other. The director has no vote but a regular procedure has been evolved in which he or his representative opens the interview with a series of professional questions designed to put candidates at ease. After the Committee have asked supplementary questions the candidate leaves and the director supplies confidential information and professional comment. The Committee then make their decision. Though the final choice is clearly the Committee's, the partnership between Committee and administration is a very real one based on mutual confidence and trust. If Leicestershire has more than its fair share of outstanding head teachers one reason is that English local democracy has in this case worked effectively. Other reasons include the care taken to pick the right man, the quality of advice received and the county's national reputation as enlightened employers.

Deputy heads are recommended for an appointment by a committee composed of the head, a member of the county's professional staff, the chairman of the managers or governors and sometimes the vice-chairman, occasionally along with other members.

What qualities do Leicestershire look for in their teachers? Obviously they must be qualified. Well-rounded personalities are sought, with enthusiasm and a broad range of interests. Stewart Mason's questions at interviews were, by all accounts, sometimes unusual but always designed to enable candidates to show what positive qualities they possess. He invariably touched on leisure-time interests as well as professional expertise. A man who makes furniture, writes poetry, goes fell-walking or whatever in his spare time may be a better person for children to learn from than someone whose whole life centres on his work. It is certainly the aim to appoint people who, among other things, are sensitive to the personal dignity of every individual child, who will foster happy relationships among children, staff and parents, and who will take an interest in the community and have lively ideas about education.

Within this framework teachers in Leicestershire represent a flexible group of men and women. They are open minded, genuinely dedicated, but with their feet on the ground. They come from many different backgrounds. One of the first upper school heads came from a selective independent school and proved to be a radical reformer. Another schoolmaster from a similar school was dissatisfied with an education which served a social élite. He also took over a new upper school. A third upper school head came from a grammar school background and had taught in a technical college. High school heads may have taught in primary schools or former secondary modern schools. Two heads have been associated with Nuffield curriculum development. This variety in background and personality gives the schools of Leicestershire their own distinctive characteristics.

THE DEPLOYMENT OF TEACHERS

The freedom of LEA's in England to lay down teacher-pupil ratios is limited by national salary scale for teachers, the mandatory allowance scheme, national forms and the attitude of the local community which has, in part, to foot the teachers' salary bill. Some room for manoeuvre is possible and head of department posts are discretionary. Thus when the Leicestershire Plan was introduced it was possible to reduce the teacher-pupil ratio of 1:24 in secondary modern schools to 1:23 in the new high schools. It is also possible to establish new head of department posts and use them in accordance with the policies of the authority and the schools.

The way in which teachers are deployed to make the most of their expertise and abilities is clearly an extremely important factor in the successful management of new practices. In Leicestershire schools headteachers use their freedom to get the best out of the members of their team in appropriate ways, so there is considerable variation in practice, but broad distinctions can be drawn between primary, high school and upper school practices, and these will emerge from the descriptions of innovation in each of the three types of school which follow.

Primary schools

In the past primary schools have had class teachers. Classes were based upon age groups, they were allocated strictly one class to one teacher and the weekly timetable was fixed. Now flexible timetables, team teaching, an enriched curriculum, and individual learning make new demands on teachers and the team to which they belong.

All have to be competent to handle new methods of teaching based upon the activities and experience of young children. They have to be able to supervise in, say, a class of thirty-five, a number of smaller groups each following its own work. Frequently the "unit" engaged in a separate activity is the single individual. The teachers have to create conditions of freedom in which young children can use resource materials to find out for themselves, yet all this has to be achieved in an orderly way. Indeed the freer the learning situation for the children the more vigilant the teacher has to be.

It is a great (and common) mistake to suppose that this freedom is uncontrolled: it makes far more demands on the teacher's professional skill and judgement than traditional "teacher-directed" approaches. Moreover it in no way lessens the teacher's duty to ensure that children learn to read, write and attain mathematical skills. But the emphasis now is on enriching the child's understanding and evoking his interests rather than on rote learning. Some of these new teaching skills are acquired so as to speak "on the shop floor" of the live classroom. The crucial element of wise judgement comes as much from experience as from study.

Head teachers, advisers and in-service training facilities also help to improve the competence of young reachers. Older teachers may have to be brought up to date and some of their attitudes modified. The same agencies are involved in these processes of re-educating teachers. Some of the policies followed in Leicestershire to improve the general quality of individual teachers will be described later.

What has been happening to the primary school curriculum in England's first totally re-organised county authority? It is a rich tapestry of sophisticated design. As long as a decade ago Leicestershire was pioneering new methods of teaching primary school mathematics; and Stewart Mason made it his business to create conditions in which primary school children had quite unusually wide opportunities for education in music and the arts. Alongside curriculum changes went changes in the structuring of the schools' activities. In Leicestershire, for example, the introduction of the "integrated day" was pioneered.

The "integrated day" in essence means that apart from a minimum of activities needing to be timetabled, for example where use of the school hall is concerned, the day can proceed without interruption, and unless the teacher wishes to call together a group or indeed the whole class for some united activity, children can pursue their interests for as long as there is value in doing so. Any of these interests may lead a child quite naturally from one traditional subject 'discipline' into another, so that mathematics may lead into art and art into writing and so on. There are as many variations of the integrated day as there are teachers. The view is taken in Leicestershire that uniformity deadens the spirit; and since at the heart of the educational process there lies a personal relationship, then its development must be helped forward by the encouragement of individuality.

Another direction in which Leicestershire has been playing a leading part is in fostering "family" or "vertical" grouping. This is now found in the majority of county schools at the "infant" - 7 to 11 - end of the primary school. In this form of organisation not only is the total range of ability to be found in one class but it also covers more than one age group. For example, instead of having one class of five year olds, another of sixes and a third of sevens, there will be three classes each having within them an age span of five to seven. The advantages of this method of organisation are a greater stability, the children and teacher having a longer period to get to know each other, and the fact that the new entry each year consists of only a handful of children who quickly get absorbed into the daily structure. In this kind of class younger children also have the stimulus of association with older children. When the learning process becomes individualised it is impossible for the teacher to undertake all the teaching. Reliance has to be placed on the willingness of children to help each other and this makes the presence of the older children particularly valuable. A number of primary schools in the county are also experimenting with vertical grouping over a two year span with older children, having eights and nines together, and tens and elevens.

In larger primary schools it is quite usual to find that the head teacher, his deputy and even occasionally perhaps one other teacher are not attached to any particular class although all three of them may teach a good deal. Frequently the head or his deputy takes small groups of pupils for remedial reading. Specialised teachers in, say, mathematics, music or French, help other teachers both directly and by disseminating among the staff the latest information on content and methods of teaching. Leicestershire would say that "specialist", like "subject", is a misnomer in the primary school. What they look for and seek to encourage is the teacher with a feeling for an enthusiasm in a particular area of the curriculum. Then the inevitable expertise he acquires through following his enthusiasm and sharing it with others (teachers as well as children) is at their disposal too. Put the enthusiast, the man of parts if you like, with children in the primary school learning situation and something exciting will result. He will help to liberate the child's mind, not send it running down the tramlines of the narrow subject specialist.

Most primary schools also have ancillary classroom helpers who help to free the teacher from non-teaching duties. A further development is that mothers are now being encouraged to help in this way on a voluntary basis, which means that not only does the school get much needed extra help but closer relations with parents are forged.

High schools

Just as the primary schools have developed child-centred approaches to an integrated curriculum, so now the Leicestershire high school is exploring the same area, with modifications to suit its role as the school which sees children through puberty. The high school curriculum is more specialised and consequently in most of these schools teachers with specialist qualifications collaborate with others who bring to the task a more general background. Heads are increasingly recognising that in the first year or more of the high school pupils from the primary schools ought to a large extent to continue the learning process along similar lines, and that the preparation for more specialised work should be a gradual process. Consequently these schools which previously worked strictly on specialist lines with the pupils largely graded by ability are moving towards individual programmes for large parts of the day.

Broadly speaking the high school curriculum is made up of four or more groups of study: languages and social studies, the natural and mathematical sciences, design (which includes the fine arts, metalwork, woodwork, homecraft, etc.) and music, drama and physical education. Streaming by ability (long since discarded by the primary school) is rapidly on the way out in the high school too. Again timetabling is increasingly flexible and team teaching is encouraged. Where the design of the school permits, teams of teachers work together in the three main areas - humanities, natural sciences and design. On some occasions purely individual work is possible; at other times small groups are taught. There are times, however, when "lead lessons" for groups of up to say 120 pupils are given in a lecture hall. Methods of teaching vary from highly individualised tutorials to co-operative team teaching. In some cases where there is no streaming for most subjects, pupils of similar ability are brought together in "sets" for special subjects - e.g. French, mathematics. Usually such arrangements are made at the request of the departments concerned.

The following quotation from the Manor High School pamphlet, Learning Unlimited (a guide for parents of new entrants), summarizes the general attitude towards teachers in Leicestershire high schools:

> "Each member of staff has specialist qualifications in one or more particular subjects, but all regard themselves primarily as teachers of children rather than as teachers of subjects and all have a talent for making relationships with children. It is a young enthusiastic staff, members work together as a team, with a selfless attitude to their pupils and to colleagues."

Upper schools

In the upper schools the same qualities are looked for, but here the emphasis, with external examinations to be got through, is inevitably more on specialist subject teachers. However, these teachers have to cover an increasing range of subjects. No longer are the usual G.C.E. "O" and "A" level subjects the only ones taught. As in the high schools, three major areas are catered for - the humanities, mathematics and the natural sciences, and design. Basic or core subjects are studied along with options. The combination of subjects depends upon each pupil's interest and the examination towards which he is working. The movement, particularly for those who are not of high academic ability, is away from G.C.E. courses to C.S.E. courses based on syllabuses drawn up by individual or groups of schools and examined by them.

More emphasis is now placed on subjects such as art, commercial subjects, computing science, design, European studies, engineering science and drawing, home economics, social studies and technical studies. The syllabuses of many of these newer subjects include a core of basic information and specialised optional sections from which pupils can choose. Staff have to be recruited against this broad background of studies. The subjects are grouped together and members of a team of specialists work with one of several heads of departments or directors of studies. Furthermore increasing attention is being paid by the upper schools to devising more suitable courses, clearly related to the practical problems of life and employment, for those of little "academic" ability who wish to stay on longer at school.

At this stage in a young person's life he is faced with many choices both personal and vocational. In the big upper schools (the desired maximum size is 1,500) pastoral care has to be organised along somewhat different lines from the smaller high schools and primary schools. Upper schools have tutors who are responsible for the pastoral care of a group of students. Tutor groups are organised according to various criteria. They may cover a particular age group, or have pupils of all ages in the school. The tutors' work is co-ordinated by "housemasters" or "yearmasters", and in this way the welfare problems of the school are dealt with in manageable groups from which no-one is excluded. Pastoral care is considered sufficiently important in Leicestershire for some extra responsibility allowances to be paid to some tutors in the upper schools. It is present policy to establish more of these posts.

More and more teachers specialising in this aspect of education attend special counselling courses at Reading University and elsewhere. It is felt desirable that there should be trained counsellors on the staffs of schools but this does not remove from all teachers the responsibility of reaching out to the individual child to help his all-round development, intellectual, moral, aesthetic and physical.

TEACHER EDUCATION

Teacher education, like all education, does not finish when students come out of college into their first teaching post. It is something which must continue, as in-service education, through the teacher's career. The DES, the colleges of education, university institutes of education and subject associations of teachers all contribute to this process; but the LEA's role, here as elsewhere, is of first importance. The LEA is better placed to know what its own teachers want and to tailor in-service provision specially for them. How does Leicestershire meet the need? For a start many heads take some responsibility for the in-service needs of young teachers. This may be done informally but there are schools where courses for teachers are arranged in the school after school hours. Staff members suggest topics of interest and visiting speakers are invited to participate.

Then there are a great number of courses provided by advisers. These tend to be (particularly on the primary side) organised on a workshop/seminar basis: so a residential course might see teachers spending the day working with apparatus and materials of their choice from amongst a wide variety available, and the evening discussing the day's findings in small groups. Such an approach simulates the learning situation for the child in the modern primary school and it is clearly more valuable than the platform speaker who hands out or purports to hand out "tips for teachers" - though there is a place, which Leicestershire recognises, for the more formal gathering when teachers can meet the expert.

There are also two teachers' centres, at Blaby and at Thurmaston, with two more in embryo stage at Loughborough and Hinckley and still others planned. Like similar centres elsewhere these provide workshop and discussion group facilities for a particular area of the authority. A teacher/leader is responsible for each, and both centres offer the possibility of genuine teacher democracy. They are not outposts of empire for the advisory service but places where local teachers themselves decide what they want and very often provide it without recourse elsewhere. The teacher/leader at the Blaby centre taught mathematics in a high school. The centre has, for example, produced agriculture notebooks showing how to plan agricultural studies in high schools. Similar reference books connected with local industry are planned to supplement the material available to teachers of geography, science and domestic science. Much of the work at Blaby centres on primary school needs. Examples of courses at Blaby include French, methodology, environmental studies, team teaching and slide making.

The teacher/leader at Thurmaston played a rather different role, so much so that he has now become Resources Consultant with a county-wide responsibility and a new teacher/leader has been appointed to replace him. This is typical of Leicestershire's approach: you appoint someone to run a teachers' centre, offering him help but not a blueprint; instead you encourage him to indulge his flair, to do what he is best at. Using an unorthodox approach some very interesting work on interdisciplinary topics has been developed to a high academic standard. In this case the teacher/leader has had the freedom to create his own role, with satisfying results. For example, a wide range of materials on Spain, Africa and the Commonwealth has been built up, and historical matter is being collected in collaboration with "The Times" newspaper.

Thurmaston centre has also been the home for three years of a Nuffield "Resources for Learning" project. This has offered to schools a variety of both familiar and new resources developed to a very high standard. The director of the project has now moved on to the headship of a new Leicestershire upper school.

PERIPATETIC TEACHERS

In Leicestershire peripatetic teachers have a role to play both directly in instruction of children or in the continuing education of teachers. There are, for example, no less than a dozen peripatetic teachers of instrumental music who travel round the county from school to school to give instruction to musically inclined children. These teachers are able to spot any children with exceptional music talent and link them up with the unique organisation which the county runs to enable promising young musicians to play together at a very high level. There are also peripatetic teachers, for example, of French, rural science, environmental studies and outdoor pursuits.

Other peripatetic teachers have the special task of helping small schools. They visit one- and two-teacher schools, which tend to be located on the periphery of the county, bringing them suggestions and new ideas. They introduce resource material to these schools and show the teachers how to use up-to-date teaching aids.

Another peripatetic post was created in 1965, to help primary school probationary teachers (those in the first year of service) throughout the county. They average each year about 150 in number. The post is one for a young man or woman with some two or three years of teaching experience behind him, so that he is well aware of the problems starting teachers may face. Some of these are personal. Since most probationary teachers come from outside the county they have to find accommodation. The peripatetic teacher can often help them. Among the more frequent professional problems are lack of effective communication between head and the young teacher fresh from college. This is not necessarily due to lack of concern or approachability on the head's part but simply that many young teachers project authoritarian attitudes onto him: it takes time for them to realise that they are professional colleagues. Visits to schools have helped to improve this situation. Some probationers have classroom problems - maintaining discipline and organisation of their work. The peripatetic teacher spends a lot of time with such teachers helping them to overcome these difficulties and encouraging them to stay on in the same school at least for a second year. Since the introduction of this post the number of teachers in the county failing to have their fully-qualified status confirmed by the end of their probationary year has been virtually eliminated.

ADVISERS

Among the innovations introduced by Leicestershire or pioneered by them, nothing better illustrates Stewart Mason's philosophy than his shaping of the Leicestershire advisory service. It is not just that there are relatively more advisers than in most other authorities nor that (to make sure that they are with teachers and not behind desks) they have their own team of clerical and administrative supporters. The outstanding feature of the service is the relationships between the advisers and the schools. Leicestershire's advisers are not in any sense of the word inspectors. They have no executive power. They have no right of entry into a school - they go only where and when they are invited ("If you don't like the colour of their waistcoats", Stewart Mason has been heard to say to a gathering of 300 probationary teachers, "then you needn't have them in your classroom.")

So not surprisingly advisers are continuously being invited into many more classrooms than they can possibly visit every school day of the year. With no authority except that of their own reputation they are welcomed, not feared by teachers. Spurred on by Stewart Mason to encourage the good rather than to criticise the unsatisfactory, they have been involved in innumerable projects with teachers which led to the curriculum reforms now in operation in Leicestershire. Clearly the attitude towards and use made of advisers varies. Primary schools particularly, value the advice and help of advisers. High school heads also find the advisory service very useful. At upper school level the quality and expertise of the specialist staff make their services less sought after but none the less they are frequently able to render service by organising highly specialised courses with, say, the aid of university staff or co-ordinating the efforts of the authority to ensure that modern language teachers keep in trim through periodical sojourns abroad. The upper schools are also increasingly welcoming the help that can be given to them in developing courses of interest and meaning to the unacademic student.

As agents of change the advisers are in a unique position. Unable to insist on change they are, however, in close touch with the schools and know the schools where teachers are using new methods or material successfully. The advisers try to support such teachers and help them to develop appropriate aids. The intention is to ensure that the innovation is effective in one or a small number of classrooms in the first instance. Other teachers are encouraged by the advisers to visit schools in which successful changes have been made and assured that the advisory service would give them whatever help they could if they wished to move in a similar direction.

The second stage of the process is for the adviser to bring like-minded teachers together. Conferences and courses are arranged and so the process of dissemination gets underway. The adviser demonstrates new practices to other schools which have heard of them and wish to introduce them. The opinion of a typical adviser is that he looks for growth points in the schools and then, through in-service education of the kinds mentioned, he helps to see that the new practice is worked into and through the system.

Examples of the role of the adviser in bringing about change are many. The work of the music adviser Mr. Eric Pinkett is well known. He has told the story of the Leicestershire County School of Music out-of-school-hours institution, in his book "Time to Remember". He was chosen by the director of education and appointed music adviser to Leicestershire in 1948. He firmly believed that music was one of life's joys and that children everywhere should be given the chance to play instruments and that singing lessons, as generally practised, were not the best way to arouse enthusiasm. Eric Pinkett toured the county, seeking among teachers fellow enthusiasts. He found only seven people in the whole of the county who could lay any claim to play an instrument. He called them together and with a music teacher from his former school at Melton Mowbray formed the County School of Music. A Saturday morning routine was established in 1948 and continues today. A constant flow of young musicians has been discovered, their enthusiasm and talents fostered so that in addition to playing in their school orchestra they are able to play in larger area groups during the week and one of the four orchestras which the authority supports every Saturday. They also play together during the holidays and give concerts at home and abroad. The senior of these orchestras, the Leicestershire Schools Symphony Orchestra, now has a well deserved international reputation.

The way in which the County School of Music and the orchestras have been built up is instructive. Eric Pinkett at first concentrated on a small number of schools. He went regularly to the chosen schools and taught. He carried instruments with him. He looked always for quality - real musical ability. Almost at once he began to organise concerts - against the advice of those who said he should wait five years. With Stewart Mason's active encouragement he concentrated on twentieth century though romantic and classical music was by no means ignored. He created a successful county orchestra of which schools and pupils could feel proud. Success bred success,and the number of teachers and pupils drawn into the County School of Music and the orchestras has risen steadily. More and more teachers, parents and children were anxious to share in the pleasure of making music so that gradually the teaching staff was increased and the instrumental learning spread into more and more schools.

Competition in the earlier days undoubtedly played a part in the spread of music. Competitive festivals were held in four areas in the county and selected winners from each area met in a county festival to establish the county winners. But in time competitive festivals gave way to non-competitive festivals. Area centres of music were established, first in Loughborough, then in Melton Mowbray and Ashby de la Zouch and then in other centres until there were seven area schools as offshoots of the County School of Music functioning after school hours over the five school days of the week. At county level a second orchestra was established to provide further encouragement and then a third because so many young people were beginning to play well. It is clear that still more young people want to and are capable of playing well and enjoying themselves by doing so.

Teachers of music of the right quality were at first scarce and the director of education had to use his tactical skill to have competent musicians engaged as unqualified teachers. Later recognition as qualified teachers was given to musicians from the Military Schools of Music. Over the years the recruitment of music teachers to primary and secondary schools has been from an increasing number of well-qualified applicants. One of the most fruitful sources of recruitment of teachers with musical talent to Leicestershire has been the fact that many ex-students from the County School of Music who had gone on to music colleges, or who had taken music as a main subject at a College of Education, wished to take up a teaching career in an authority which they knew from personal experience gave music every encouragement. But in addition to the teachers with musical talent in individual schools the establishment and steady expansion of a corps of peripatetic teachers has been of paramount importance and mention has already been made of their role.

The support music received from Stewart Mason is shown by the way in which all the expenses, including pupils' travel to the Saturday sessions of the County School of Music, have been paid by the authority. In addition he has personally taken the keenest interest in its development and an active part in organising its foreign tours. Money has also been found for the purchase of an enormous number of instruments.

The success of the Leicestershire County School of Music and the Schools Symphony Orchestra illustrates how an energetic adviser can with the support of the director and the education committee overcome very considerable obstacles. It also demonstrates how obvious and international success arouses enthusiasm.

Many people in the system wish to be part of the success and thus musical education was widely disseminated and brought to a high level.

Another task of the advisers is to evaluate the success of innovations. An example is primary school French which was introduced on an experimental basis in many English authorities, including Leicestershire. A modern languages adviser was appointed and he sent out questionnaires to all the primary schools (91 per cent of them responded) to find out which taught French and what qualifications teachers of French possessed. He then visited the primary schools in which French was being taught. He found that while there were one or two brilliant teachers the majority of them had not sufficiently fluent linguistic ability in French to teach well. Just a few had exceptional backgrounds, e.g. were bilingual; married to a French person or were themselves French. These were rare, and few teachers had been to or spent much time in France. A run-down of primary school French was encouraged, apart from one area where primary French has been taught for some time in association with the Nuffield experimental scheme. To assist teacher-fluency a scheme which enables six teachers every year to spend half a term in France has been introduced; at the moment this is for high and upper school teachers. There is a peripatetic teacher to replace the one seconded and a second is about to be appointed.

Follow-up work has been undertaken. It has been found in the high school that pupils who have not studied French in the primary school are at no great disadvantage except at first. One way of improving competence is the scheme which enables children to go to a centre in Dieppe. These courses, only lately introduced, are very popular. The link with Dieppe is another example of Leicestershire pioneering. Many English towns are twinned with others in Europe; many schools similarly. But Leicestershire is actively developing close links covering the whole curriculum and age range with the education authorities in the Seine Maritime area.

Finally certain advisers have organisational tasks to perform. Apart from the many courses and conferences which are arranged, one of the art advisers has the task of looking after the county art collection, which Stewart Mason has been steadily building up over the last twenty years and which consists of over two hundred items including oil paintings, water colours, drawings and prints, embroideries and printed fabrics, and sculptures. The personal interest of Stewart Mason in the arts in education is well known and documented (see University of London Institute of Education Studies in Education - The Arts in Education, Evans 1963). His enthusiasm and later his national connections with the art world have been decisive in building up the collection and in bringing into the schools of Leicestershire modern paintings and sculptures. When a new school is opened a sculpture is provided and is placed in a prominent position. Since 1950 an annual picture sale has been held. To the sale are sent paintings, embroideries, sculptures and ceramics from art dealers and direct from a number of artists. Heads or art teachers may preview the exhibits in order to draw up a list of works of art they wish to buy. Preference lists thus drawn up are reviewed by the director. If several schools want the same item he decides to whom it shall go. Works can be brought from general school funds but the authority encourages schools to meet a proportion of the cost from the schools' private funds.

Loans from the county art collection are also made to schools and smaller schools often receive additional small grants towards the purchase of a painting they could otherwise not afford. The result is that the schools of Leicestershire possess original works of art and display those borrowed from the art collection. Most of them tend to be by younger contemporary artists but the collection has many examples of the work of an older generation of famous artists. The collection has been on exhibition in London and elsewhere. Stewart Mason's initiative and buying flair have meant not only that Leicestershire has become one of the biggest public patrons of contemporary art but that Leicestershire children and students work daily in an environment enriched by the works of living painters and sculptors. The original contemporary painting on the walls of a Leicestershire school is saying something to today's children that the Old Master reproduction cannot. Art by living and working artists is for daily living and working with: leave it only in the museum and the daily life of the school is less civilised, the total learning experience that much narrower.

PARTNERSHIP

Partnership between the Education Committee, the director and his staff, head teacher, assistant teachers and pupils is stressed as a major principle in Leicestershire. It is not untypical of attitudes in other local authorities though by no means always to the same degree. So too is the view that the English headmaster is the captain of his ship - the leader of a team. These principles have been successfully applied in Leicestershire through the careful selection of headteachers, advisers and assistant teachers. "Personalities" have been sought and found. Enthusiasm has been looked for and encouraged. Freedom has been proclaimed as a principle of policy and has been granted in practice. No doubt the director has taken risks in advising on the appointment of heads and advisers on the basis of their lively personalities, their enthusiasm and their creativeness. He has not looked in the first instance for careful administrators or paper qualifications. These qualities are reflected in the schools, which show great diversity. They find expression in the success on an experimental basis of many new and exciting practices.

There has been continuity and there is stability among administrators and teachers. These have contributed greatly to the successful dissemination, from growth points within the county, of advanced practices. Teachers do come together on a voluntary basis, they do share experiences, they are encouraged to learn from each other. There is, moreover, at all levels a willingness to evaluate or re-assess practices. While there is a climate in the county favourable to innovation teachers in Leicestershire still keep their feet on the ground. The introduction of the Leicestershire Plan and the opportunities schools now have to prepare pupils for school-based C.S.E. examinations is undoubtedly going to assist this process.

Without question the ability of the county to attract and select from a large number of well-qualified candidates for big posts has been one of the most important factors in the successful development of the schools. The opportunities it provides for in-service education for teachers to meet together to discuss problems of material interest, and for advisers to establish fruitful relationships with schools have contributed greatly to the success of the innovations which have been introduced.

Finally, there is the director's own link with the schools. At least once a year Stewart Mason met every Leicestershire head in groups small - and therefore informal - enough to facilitate the kind of dialogue which involves "thinking aloud". This was a vital element in the partnership between school and office that Leicestershire believes must exist in any educational system which is going to move forward with goodwill and harmony. These meetings complemented the visits to schools which the director and his senior colleagues made and which again helped to establish close and friendly relations between teachers and administrators. It was his firm tenet that no administrator should visit a school except in the guise of a guest.

Chapter V

THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

Leicestershire is an authority in which ever since the war great attention has been paid to the school environment. Of course it is fully recognised that the quality of the intrinsic relationship between teacher and child is of far greater importance and can rise above the most constricting of surroundings. Equally - in reverse - very unimaginative use can be made of imaginative buildings. None the less Stewart Mason has steadfastly taken the view that the environment does exert a powerful influence, and from the moment of his appointment has t[illegible]n a keen personal interest in school sites and buildings.

In an expanding county such as Leicestershire there has been a constant requirement to acquire new sites for new schools. In the early days after the war there was little support for the view that schools required well placed sites as being often the only 'civic' building in the locality; on the contrary, there was an all too ready inclination to take the view that they could well be pushed back behind houses on bits of land which other users were reluctant to acquire. Stewart Mason consistently fought for the very best sites for his schools and a tour of the postwar schools of the county would confirm how successfully this campaign was waged.

From the start he succeeded in building up within the office the most friendly and co-operative relationship between the Education Department and that of the County Architect. Throughout the period the closest liaison has been maintained between the staff of the two departments so that new schools or enlargements of existing ones have (in so far as the financial restrictions allowed) given physical expression to whatever were the educational ideas of the administration current at the time. While in the fifties the external elevations and internal planning of schools built in

Leicestershire followed the normal patterns, Leicestershire was certainly one of the first authorities to go to infinite pains over their internal decoration, bringing in light and gay colours including wallpapers to replace the current institutional greens and browns. In the sixties schools in the county increasingly took on more adventurous characteristics. More exciting shapes such as hexagonal or octagonal halls were tried out. When the building load was greater than the capacity of the County Architect's office could deal with, work was put out to private architects of distinction and national reputation. Naturally some schools are more successful either aesthetically or functionally than others but few of the schools of Leicestershire built from the sixties onwards could be described as nondescript or dull. They all have individuality and this is augmented by their works of art.

The freedom which education authorities enjoy is however constricted by pretty tight controls from the centre. The regulations of the Department of Education and Science lay down the minimum size for the number and age of pupils and the maxiumum cost for that size. Moreover no school can be built until it is authorised by the Department, and the plans have to be approved as conforming to its regulations. Its policy is to authorise major building programmes on the basis of the number of children of school age in the district and not on the grounds of educational desirability. Consequently, cost has a decisive bearing on what can be done. At the same time radical departures from traditional plans were possible only by persuading the Department of Education and Science to modify some of its rigid regulations. Leicestershire has played a clear part in wresting such concessions. Each time the regulations have been revised this has been done in a more liberal direction.

Basically, prior to the more experimental designs, schools consisted of a number of self-contained, strictly private classrooms, laboratories, a gymnasium, a hall and administrative offices. Secondary schools were usually two or three storey buildings, the width of a classroom and when possible a corridor, and later two classrooms on either side of a central corridor. A primary school built in 1948 had tiled corridors opening onto a single line of classrooms. Before long, however, infant school teachers were using the corridors for display work and other activities.

Schools built in the sixties broke away from these traditions. They were designed not only to provide a visually attractive environment but to meet the needs of the advanced practices which were being introduced into the schools. This has meant that facilities had to provide for individual and small group teaching and learning. Resource materials had to be readily available and the possibility for team teaching catered for. Provision had to be made for the arts, for engineering workshops, and for special audio-visual aids. These needs, while common to all schools, found different architectural expression in the primary and secondary schools. Buildings have passed through evolutionary stages so that in 1971 the county has a variety of designs. Each in its own way meets modern educational needs and most headteachers seem satisfied with the school buildings they have - even those in old fashioned buildings. No attempt is made here to evaluate or place in rank order the schools visited. The principles are clear and the majority of teachers in the county welcome the new trends in design although naturally there are some who would prefer the less 'open' schools to which they were previously accustomed.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Primary schools have to cater for the needs of family age groups, normally of around 35 children. They have to allow smaller groups of perhaps four or five children, or even individual children, to proceed at their own rates. At any time these groups may be engaged on quite different activities - reading, mathematics, painting, modelling, etc. Teachers want to be able to attend to individual children while keeping an eye on the rest. Materials have to be easily accessible and there needs to be a quiet place to which pupils can withdraw to work on their own if they wish. Basically three shapes have been used in individual designs, the square or rectangle, the circle and the hexagon. There are variations on each theme and Stewart Mason has described them in In Our Experience. What follows is a summary of his chapter and observations based upon visits made during the research.

Rectangles

One reason for using this shape is that the building consortium which prefabricates school units produce units having only right angles. Another reason is that extensions to these schools when numbers increase are rather easier than when hexagons and circles are involved.

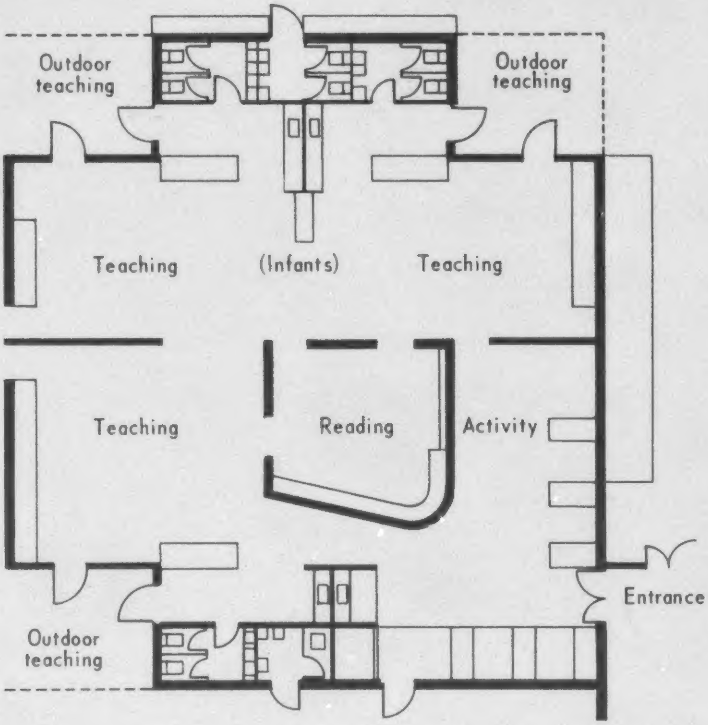
The range of buildings based on the rectangular unit is considerable and provides a continuum on which very 'open' plan schools such as Fairfield Primary School can be placed at one end and L-shaped buildings with corridors at the other.

Fairfield Primary School consists of a large, basically square teaching area from which, through a foyer, the administrative offices and a large hall lead off. A kitchen enables the hall to be used to serve lunches. In this infants' school three family groups can be taught in three corners of the teaching area. The activity area is available for special groups and other practical activities such as modelling, pattern making, junk and woodwork and sand and water tray activities. The quiet central reading room houses a small library. The teaching areas are separated by light partitions. Every part of the whole teaching area is easily accessible. Movement within and between classes is very easy and resource materials can be shared. Teachers can readily collaborate. Indeed, in this kind of building it is essential for teachers to work as a team.

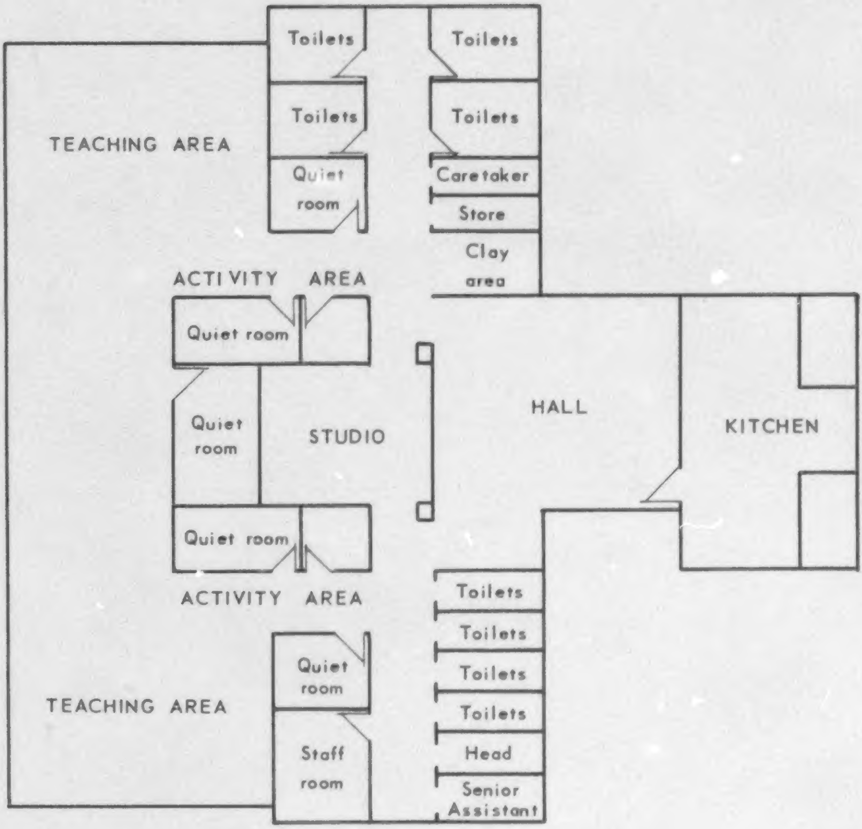
Each class area is the home base of a teacher and her vertically (5-7 years) grouped class of infants. Each area provides somewhat different opportunities, but there is no hard and fast rule which limits any activity to a particular place. There is bound to be a lot of movement, which increases the possibility that one class will disturb a neighbouring class. One group may want quietness while a story is being read, another may be engaged in more noisy activities. Sound absorbing materials on walls or ceilings reduce the noise interference level, but the most effective way of keeping the noise to tolerable levels is by carpeting. In Fairfield the teaching area is carpeted from wall to wall.

The advantages of such an "open" plan school are described by Miss Anne Jeffery, the Headmistress, in these words: "My staff find an open plan school especially beneficial from their personal point of view for there is none of that feeling of isolation from other adults which can occur in a 'box-like' classroom. It is possible to consult one's colleagues at any time to share some rewarding work or a joke. The children, too, observe the teachers' relationships, and find that adults can present a happy, stable atmosphere. This aspect of open plan teaching has its obvious advantages. For the young teacher this method of teaching can be very helpful. She works side by side with experienced staff, learning more about the handling of children, teaching methods, organisation and discipline. At the same time she feels that she has something to offer, and is given chances to contribute to the education of the whole school. She quickly loses any inhibitions she may have had about teaching with other people present in the room."

FAIRFIELD PRIMARY SCHOOL

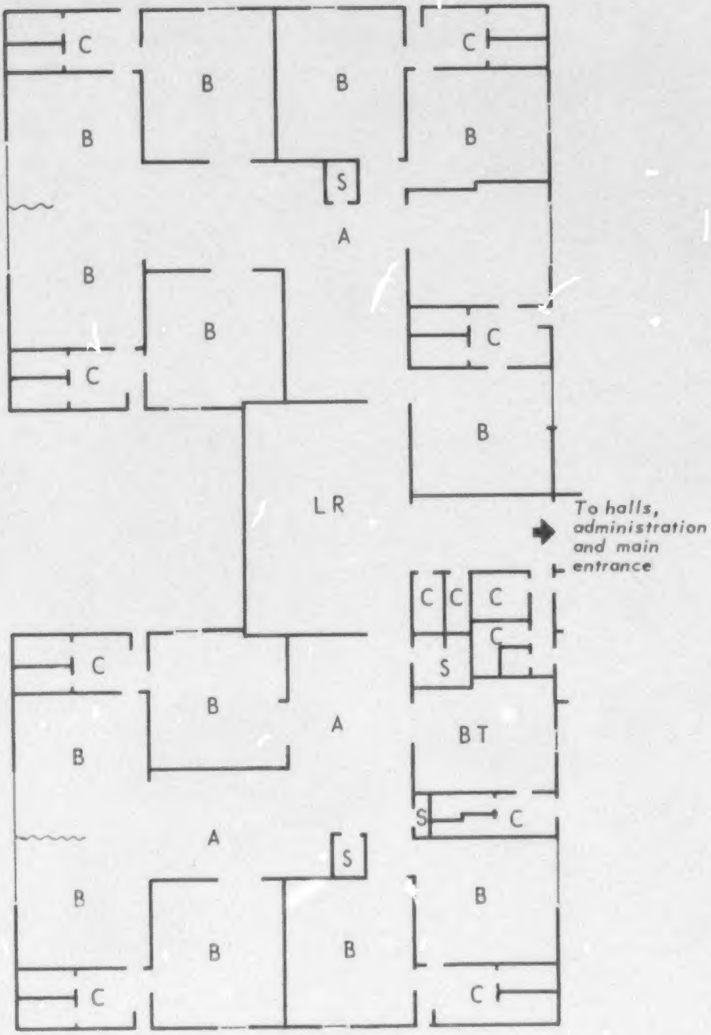

Outdoor teaching
Outdoor teaching
Teaching
(Infants)
Teaching
Teaching
Reading
Activity
Entrance
Outdoor teaching

LOGHBOROUGH
DERBY ROAD
PRIMARY SCHOOL


Toilets
Toilets
Toilets
Toilets
TEACHING AREA
Quiet room
Caretaker
Store
Clay area
ACTIVITY AREA
Quiet room
Quiet room
STUDIO
HALL
KITCHEN
Quiet room
ACTIVITY AREA
Toilets
Toilets
Toilets
Toilets
Quiet room
TEACHING AREA
Staff room
Head
Senior Assistant

Hexagon

MELTON MOWBRAY, SHERARD PRIMARY SCHOOL


C
B
B
C
B
B
S
B
A
B
B
C
C
B
LR
C
C
C
C
C
S
B
A
B
BT
S
C
A
S
B
B
B
B
C
C

To halls, administration and main entrance

A : Activity area
B : Class base
BT : Base talks projection room
C : Cloaks
S : Store
LR : Library resource area

Virtually total open planning as in this instance would not be the best solution in combined infant and junior schools when methods of teaching become, with the older age groups, more sophisticated, and the more specialised studies, such as French and music, may need some insulation. In some 'open' plan schools the class bases are enclosed on three sides. At the Sherard Primary School in Melton Mowbray (in which the infant and junior schools are end on to make possible eventual amalgamation) the teaching bases are clustered around the library resource area. Activity areas in each of the schools are centrally placed and can be used by all the classes. Movable screens and furniture make it possible to separate activities out and increase flexibility. One disadvantage of this plan is that noisy activities take place in the middle of the teaching area.

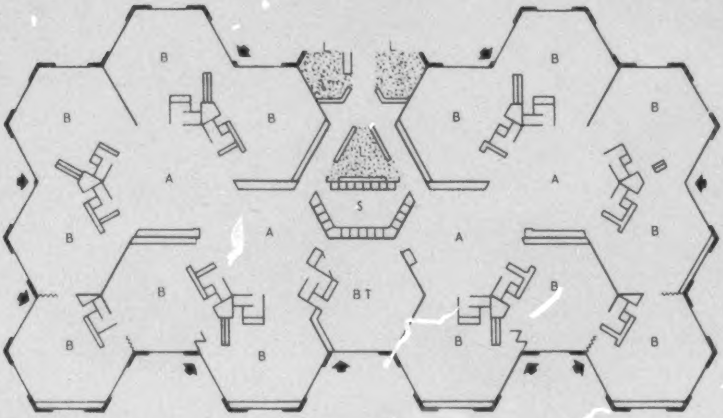
A continuous dialogue between administrators, advisers and teachers resulted in trying out an alternative arrangement which is incorporated in a third rectangular unit design. It is that the centre of the school should be a quiet area with less easy access to it and the noisy, messy activities should be pushed to the edges of the teaching area. The Derby Road Primary school was designed with this principle in mind. To save space, tiled activity areas were placed round the enclosed central quiet rooms. The large open teaching area creates the problem of shortage of display space, and this has to be overcome by means of specially designed furniture and equipment.

Hexagons

Hexagonal primary school buildings broke away from corridors altogether. The Headlands Infant School at Blaby is one such school but built before open planning became current practice in the county. The hall is hexagonal and off each of the sides there is an activity area serving two hexagonal classrooms with their own cloak and toilet facilities and an entrance to the outside. Each classroom is a home base, fairly enclosed, in which smaller groups can be conveniently organised. Classes are organised as a family or vertical group and are of course unstreamed. The hall is the centre of many shared activities, the activity areas permit noisy and messy work and the hexagonal classrooms are the family home. Certainly as against the open plan schools this design does not enable resource materials to be shared as easily. The school style places emphasis on a family within a larger unit.

It represents a period of school planning when the core of the primary school was the hall with clusters of classrooms around it. Recently the hall has been pushed to the edge or outside the periphery of the teaching area. This is the case at another hexagonal design, the Holywell Primary School at Loughborough, which brings together in one complex an infant and a junior school. Class bases cluster round activity areas and the library resource area together with study booths serves both schools from a central position.

LOUGHBOROUGH, HOLYWELL PRIMARY SCHOOL



A. Activity Area
B. Class Area
L. Library Resource Area
S. Study Booths
BT. Base talks projection Area

Circles

The Richmond County Primary School at Hinckley is round. The hall, kitchen and administrative offices are to one side. Each class base is a sector of the circle and the library and charming quiet room upstairs are in the centre. The bases are separated by partitions half of which can be opened so that two units become virtually one. Adjacent bases share practical areas, cloakrooms and toilets. Outside on the circumference there are covered working spaces. Thus in this design the noisy, messy work has been pushed out to the periphery.

Such buildings are not easy to extend, the shape of the bases is not very convenient and storage space is not easily provided. But this school is light and airy, lit from above and has a peculiar beauty and charm.

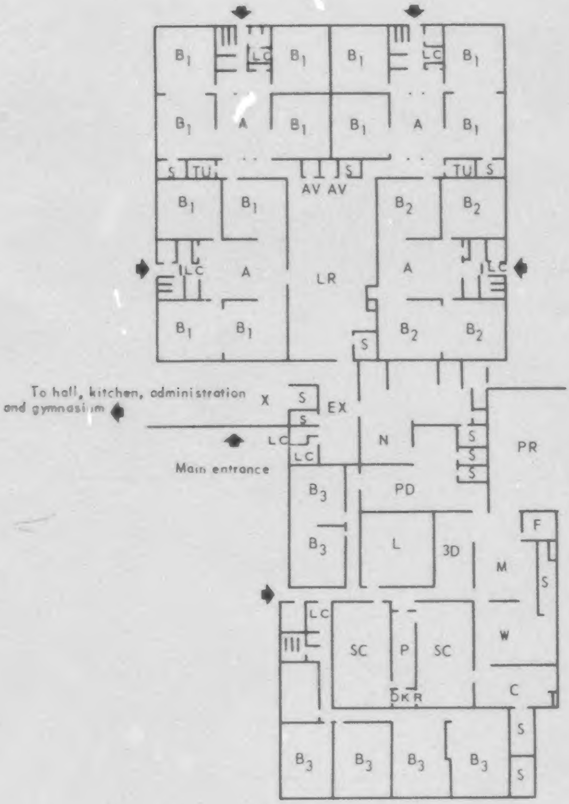
HIGH SCHOOLS

It has not been possible to build brand new high schools until fairly recently. Oadby Manor School is one which was designed to meet the needs of a new curriculum. Basically three areas of activity constitute the core of the curriculum - the humanities, the natural sciences and design which includes the fine arts, needlework, homecraft, woodwork and metalwork. Consequently there are within a split level building three main units and a hall, kitchen, music rooms, gymnasium and administrative offices to one side of the main teaching area.

At Oadby the heart of the building is the large resource area. All sources of knowledge including books are collected together, indexed and available to pupils at all times. A leisure corner contains easy chairs, newspapers and magazines and there are audio-visual booths, and self-contained complexes each consisting of four main teaching spaces. They serve the first and second year pupils. Each has its own practical area and each has a room biased towards science, two to liberal subjects and the fourth which is permanently enclosed is for subjects such as languages. The furniture is easily movable which makes for flexibility. These complexes make possible more systematic team teaching.

Third year pupils spend more time in the specialist rooms so that they are in single teaching rooms from which they can move either to the science unit or the design centre. The latter does not consist of a series of separate rooms for different crafts but is planned round a central painting and drawing zone which leads out to quiet activities (homecraft, needlework) or noisy activities (woodwork, metalwork). The science unit comprises two laboratories, a preparation room and a dark room. In addition, there is an indoor gymnasium, an assembly hall with a stage made of portable units, a music room with adjoining soundproof practice rooms and an exhibition space for displays.

OADBY MANOR SCHOOL


B1
LC
A
TU
S
AV AV
B2
LR
EX
X
N
PR
PD
B3
L
3D
M
F
W
C
SC
P
DKR
To hall, kitchen, administration and gymnasium
Main entrance

A	Activity
AV	Audio visual room
B_1	First year class base
B_2	Second year class base
B_3	Third year class base
C	Ceramics
D	Division room
DKR	Dark room
3D	3D light crafts
EX	Exhibition space
F	Forge
L	Lecture theatre
LC	Lavatory and stores
LR	Library resource
M	Metalwork
N	Needlework
P	Preparation room
PD	Painting and drawing
PR	Project room
SC	Science laboratory
S	Store
TU	Tutor
W	Woodwork
X	Dining foyer

UPPER SCHOOLS

A greater degree of specialist work in the upper schools means that the balance between specialist facilities and class teaching bases is moved towards the former. Both at Wreake Valley and Countesthorpe (purpose built upper schools) the "design centres" for art and craft are impressively large and elaborate. They have been planned to enable flexible timetabling work. No longer are there set periods of time per week for woodwork, or painting or ceramics. Pupils go to the design centre to get experience over a wide range of media and can undertake projects in which more than one art or craft may be an integral part. Thus the design centres are largely open plan, but sound-proof partitions separate the noisy and the quiet activities. The intention is to break down in educative terms the separation between art and craft. Equally the close proximity of the woodwork, metalwork and engineering departments in the design centre to the science unit is intended to forge a strong realistic link between the two, leading to technology. The latter is linked with the pure sciences by placing these departments close together.

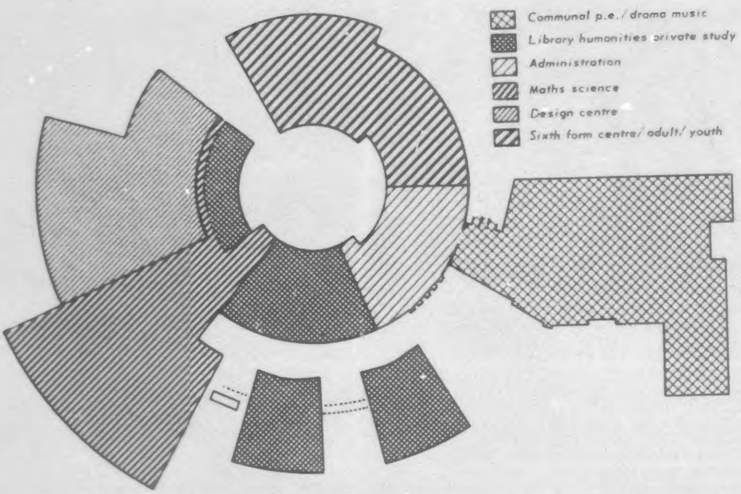
In the science units laboratories are planned as workshops in which pupils can carry out practical work on their own. These laboratories are essentially the same so that chemistry, physics and biology practical work is possible in any of them. Portable tables have replaced fixed benches. More specialised wholly enclosed laboratories surround a large open planned central practical area. All these are served by a large conveniently placed preparation space. For other science work some terraced lecture demonstration theatres take up to 35 and others between 70 and 80 pupils.

The library is important and at Wreake Valley it is in the heart of the building, forming an attractive two storey space lit from above: specialist rooms for English, history, geography and languages are sited around it.

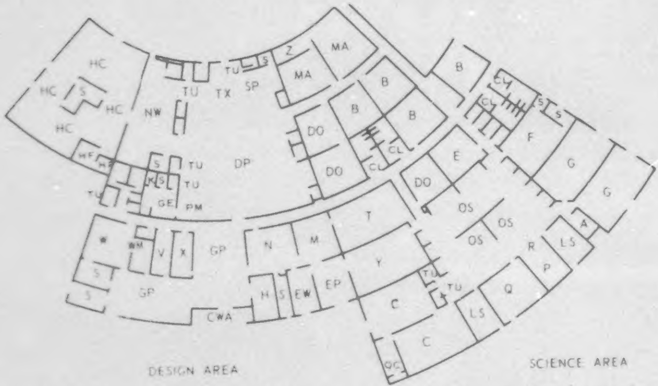
Other features of upper school design are the replacement of the school assembly hall by a small theatre and the establishment of sixth form centres with private study booths, a dining/social area, seminar rooms, quiet areas.

Countesthorpe, like Wreake Valley, incorporates these features but is based on a circular design and is on one level. Wreake Valley is a three storey building.

CIRCULAR UPPER SCHOOL
COUNTESTHORPE


▩ Communal p.e./drama music
▩ Library humanities private study
▨ Administration
▨ Maths science
▨ Design centre
▨ Sixth form centre/adult/youth

COUNTESTHORPE UPPER SCHOOL


HC
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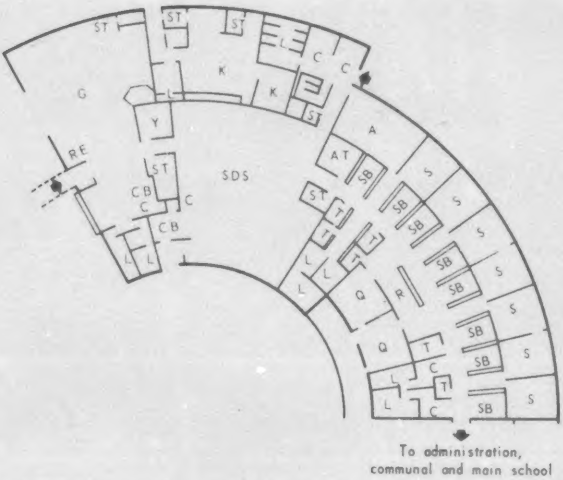
WM
V
X
GP
N
M
Y
S
GP
S
H
S
EW
EP
C
C
QC
CWA
DESIGN AREA
SCIENCE AREA

A	Animal room
B	Form base classroom
C	Chemistry
CE	Ceramics
CL	Cloaks
CWA	Covered work area
DP	Drawing and painting
DO	Drawing office
E	Electronics
EP	Engineering project area
EW	Engineering works
F	Demonstration theatre
FS	Fitting space
G	Biology
GP	General practice area
H	Forge
HC	Homecraft
HF	Homecraft flat
K	Kiln
LS	Lecture space
M	Metalwork
MA	Mathematics
N	Engineering machine shop
NU	Needlework
OS	Open science area
P	Planning room
PM	Pottery and modelling
Q	Central preparation room
QC	Chemistry preparation
R	Reference book area
S	Store
SP	Screen printing area
T	Engineering science
TU	Tutor
TX	Textiles
V	Silversmithing
W	Woodwork
WM	Wood machines
X	Withdrawal space
Y	Physics
Z	Quiet room

SIXTH FORM, YOUTH, ADULT COMPLEX,
COUNTESTHORPE UPPER SCHOOL


ST
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SB
SB
L
L
L
L
L
Q
R
Q
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SB
SB
SB
T
C
C
L
L
S
To administration,
communal and main school

A : Adult group room
AT : Adult tutor
C : Cloaks
CB : Coffee Bar
G : Games and noisy activity area
K : Kitchen
L : Lavatories
Q : Quiet room

R : Reading area
RE : Reception
S : Seminar room
SB : Study booths
SDS : Study/Dining/Social
ST : Store
T : Tutor
Y : Youth tutor

Technical problems

The elimination of corridors and the abandonment of three-storey buildings of traditional design created problems. Previous dependence on side lighting restricted design; now use is made of light from above. Another technique has been to build lecture theatres wholly enclosed but artificially lit and ventilated. Ventilation becomes a problem and has not always been solved satisfactorily. The use in large spaces of light, movable partitions is intended to give flexibility and to bring hitherto isolated disciplines together.

These problems have had to be solved within the framework of building regulations issued by the Ministry of Education since 1947 and of building bulletins (design suggestions) from 1955 onwards. They lay down minimum standards of provision and maximum costs. These regulations often lag behind advanced design. Thus it was difficult to get the Ministry to accept unheated physical education centres. The cost of heating them to meet Ministry requirements would have reduced their size by half. Artificially lit lecture theatres were not covered by the regulations. Minimum room size was at one time laid down, which inhibited new design practices.

The Ministry has had to be persuaded to bend its regulations to meet Leicestershire's and other authorities' aspirations. It has to a large extent done so and now in fact the regulations are much less detailed, so that under an allocation of a total minimum teaching area, dependent on the number and age range of the pupils, greater freedom is allowed to local authorities to plan as they think fit.

CONCLUSIONS

The new schools in Leicestershire are very well sited and for the most part the buildings blend with the surroundings, creating a pleasing unity. The materials used help to create this impression. Naturally some buildings are less successful than others but all show a willingness to experiment and a desire to adapt buildings to the child rather than the child to a building.

Inside the schools, apart from works of art, great attention has been given to wall covering and furniture. Initiative inside the schools has added to this general effect so that many schools give an impression of spaciousness and beauty. Descriptions of the atmosphere thus created are bound to be inadequate. The schools should be seen. Suffice it to say that attempts to create visually attractive environments to enhance the quality of education have for the most part succeeded.

Too much, compared with other features of a school, should not be made of design. In many old buildings in Leicestershire the teaching is lively, relationships sound and happy, and pupils do learn. Nevertheless the success of advanced practices has undoubtedly been made easier by the imaginative design of many new schools.

The building of schools which are architecturally exciting to live in and educationally functional in terms of a rapidly changing curriculum is no easy task. As has been indicated the regulations and cost controls of the Government narrow the possibilities. The normal practice of local authorities of employing their own architects for virtually all the work, while it has certain advantages does act as a damper on variety and novelty; the need to secure the approval of locally elected committees favours conservative design. The development of local authority building consortia, while it has certain advantages, again tends to make for standardised appearances as well as standardised parts. The rigid rationing of school building by the central government makes for particular difficulties in areas such as Leicestershire where there is a rapid expansion of the population. The time between the firm programming of a school and its completion may well be three or more years, with the local housing situation changing all the time.

These difficulties are inevitable when economic considerations have constantly to be kept in mind and when innumerable features of the schools' environment are likely to change. To pursue imaginative plans in the way Leicestershire has done has doubtless necessitated determination. Concessions have had to be wrested from the Department of Education and Science. Committees have had to be persuaded, architects encouraged to be imaginative within a precise cost formula, and advisers and headmasters consulted about practical details. That Stewart Mason was convinced of the importance of design and pursued his policies with determination explains, in large measure, the innovations in school building to be found in Leicestershire. These innovations, it is evident, help many of the advanced practices described to succeed.

Chapter VI

COMMUNITY COLLEGES

The history of the community college idea has already been briefly outlined in Chapter II. Leicestershire had seen the advantages of using expensive new secondary school buildings as fully as possible by opening them to adults and children out of normal school hours.

One of the main difficulties since the war in developing community education has been the lack of any centrally authorised building programme for its implementation. Educational building, as has been explained, has been centrally rationed from two pockets, (a) for schools, (b) for technical/vocational colleges. Informal and recreational education for the adult community has tended to fall between these two pockets. It was not until 1952 that the government introduced the "minor building" programmes, under which education authorities were allocated block authorisations which they were free to use as they themselves thought most appropriate, provided that each project undertaken did not exceed a prescribed total - originally £10,000, but as the value of the £ has decreased, the nominal ceiling has been raised until it was in 1970 £30,000. However the block amount available to each authority in any year has been relatively small, and the pressing need to spend it all on schools has been overwhelming. Stewart Mason's firm belief in the importance of community education has led Leicestershire to devote a small proportion of the money available for its minor building programmes to gradually developing a network of community colleges over the county - within the general provision of new secondary schools.

In the early stages this has taken the form of an adult common room with a small canteen attached, a small lecture room and cloakrooms. Provision for youth could only be achieved when in 1962 the Government introduced a very small building programme specifically for youth work for which authorities could make bids. Leicestershire then took up every year the maximum amount it could secure, and channelled these funds almost entirely into adding youth wings at its community colleges. These consisted in the main of a large unstructured area which could be used for games, dances and other activities, flanked by an attractive coffee bar, a hobbies area and a couple of quiet or committee rooms, a youth tutor's office, cloakrooms, etc.

The first community college in Leicestershire was at the secondary modern school at Ashby de la Zouch, though its adult wing was not completed until 1958. Adult wings followed along with new secondary schools at regular intervals until in 1970 there are thirteen community colleges with another under construction, and several more in the pipeline. In the early days when the school system was selective the community colleges were developed in combination with the secondary modern schools, since the grammar schools had no wish to get involved in community work. With the advent of comprehensive education in two tiers, from 11 (or 10) to 14, and 14 to 18, secondary modern schools including those which were also community colleges became middle (high) schools. As Leicestershire grammar schools gradually became upper comprehensive schools, their attitude towards community education became more favourable and finally enthusiastic, and wherever possible, as new community colleges have been established, they have been in connection with upper schools. This has not been exclusively so, since the number of upper schools is relatively small, and the inclusion of a number of high schools is necessary if an adequate network is to be provided over the whole county. Nonetheless the availability for youth and adult use of playing fields, gymnasia and sports halls, art and craft workshops, cookery rooms, rooms for drama, lectures, music and so on is much more extensive at upper schools which are themselves much larger than the high schools in addition to having older pupils. Further, at upper schools there is a natural continuity between school life and post-school life.

An essential element in the success of the community colleges of Leicestershire is to be found in their unified control. The head of the school is also the "warden" (administrative head) of the community college, and only persons who are interested in this dual role based on the idea of continuity and the closest bonds between school and adult life would seek to apply for such a post. This notion is underlined in the following words from a memorandum to the Committee which Stewart Mason wrote as far back as 1949, and it is one from which the Authority has never deviated:

> "It is, I believe, essential for the successful implementation of the community college idea that there should be no diarchy of authority over the school use and the community use of the buildings. If school and centre are two uneasy bed-fellows in rivalry with each other, and frequently at cross purposes, the result will be failure. If the institution is to teach community living, it must in itself illustrate that harmony and integration which it is the job of education to give to each individual. This in practice will only be achieved if one man is ultimately responsible to the Committee, not merely for the proper use of the whole set of college buildings, but for the success of the Community Centre as much as for the success of the school. It will therefore be necessary to appoint a warden of the college who will combine in one office the duties of headmaster and warden of the community centre."

If it is asked whether this dual role does not place an impossible burden on the shoulders of the warden, the answer is that there are assistant members of staff whose prime function is to help to organise the adult/youth sides of the venture and that the warden is not expected to be in attendance every evening, nor every morning nor afternoon at school. As in all good management, adequate arrangements must be made for delegation.

Community college is not a new name for a glorified evening institute, i.e. school premises which are used by an education authority to provide evening classes in recreational or, at elementary level, vocational subjects. Certainly, such classes are offered at the community colleges, offered in great abundance and one of the measures of the success of a community college is the volume and quality of such work. The most important differences are (a) the principle of self-government which as each year passes is becoming more real, vital, effective; (b) the fact that anyone can belong on payment of a nominal subscription simply as an individual member, without having to attend a class, but just to meet friends and talk or read; and any local club, society or association can affiliate, again by paying a nominal corporate subscription, and use the community college premises.

As regards self-government, there is a college council which appoints its own management committee and various subcommittees such as the programme committee, social events committee, etc. The council is elected at an annual general meeting having representatives for every 50 individual members and for each affiliated society or group, as well as a small number of members of staff, and governors of the school. The council decides on the rate of the affiliation fees for individual members and for groups and controls the proceeds therefrom. The education authority has been steadily encouraging local initiative and the most recent and far reaching change has been to make a block grant to each community college to cover a total ration of classes, equipment and clerical expenses, instead of financing these things directly as hitherto (with inevitable conditions which have to be imposed as to the numbers required before a class can be started, etc.). Under the new dispensation, considerable discretion is allowed on how it spends its money. It is entirely up to the college to decide what classes within the total ration to run, and at what stage to discontinue them if numbers fall, and to run additional classes so long as no extra charge falls on the authority. The great majority of the classes are paid for by the hour and full-time day teachers are able to earn extra money for evening work, though some of the teachers came from industry or other walks of life. The college recruits the teachers it requires, but must pay the standard rates laid down by the authority, and where the authority so requires only employ teachers who are qualified and up-to-date. Over the last few years the Authority has been putting much effort into raising the standards of teaching in craft and other subjects by providing various forms of training. Where voluntary clubs and societies do not already exist in the locality, the colleges sponsor new ones, and often classes develop into societies which are able to meet to undertake various activities for their own sake without tuition.

Inevitably the community activities primarily take place out of school hours and in the evening. However, many of the colleges run a small number of classes or groups during the daytime, particularly for mothers who are otherwise tied to the house by young children. They are able to bring their children, who are looked after in a crêche by the college for the period required. Sessions for old age pensioners are another similar development. But these groups meet as entities and do not impinge on the school's work.

A much more interesting development, at present only in embryo stage, is participation by adults in the work of the school. Already in upper schools which are community colleges a handful of adults are to be found alongside the regular students for certain sessions, e.g. in craftwork or to pass external examinations in certain subjects. The authority is now considering the best way to meet this need on a regular footing. For the present, buildings as well as finance restrict this development to token numbers but an exciting development along these lines lies ahead. While there are difficulties to be overcome the authority visualise that eventually at least part of the full-time staff of schools which are community colleges will be recruited under contracts which enable them to be employed either on school or on community work as the occasion demands - for example, they might fulfil their 10 teaching sessions by working 8 of them in the daytime and 2 in the evening. Apart from this, in the design of new upper schools which are community colleges a far greater integration of spaces, available equally to adults, youth and school students, is taking place.

The true success of the Leicestershire community colleges is to be found in the extent to which they are becoming not merely places for adults and young people to improve their skills and knowledge but the mainsprings of local democracy and initiative. They are growing into the nerve centres of the locality, the natural place where the problems of the neighbourhood can be discovered and discussed and sometimes even resolved, the place where the local community gets to know itself and can develop its social conscience. Measured purely numerically, at the most developed community colleges something of the order of one in every four of the population over 15 "belong" to the college either through classes or affiliated clubs and societies.

Chapter VII

LESSONS TO BE LEARNED

The re-organisation of secondary education in Leicestershire, abolishing as it did eleven plus selection, has perhaps done more to encourage educational innovation in the county than any other single factor. It has facilitated the introduction in primary schools of unstreamed and family groups. It has allowed timetable experimentation. It has made it possible to introduce more easily new mathematics, aspects of science and, where appropriate, French into the primary schools. Above all the removal of severe examination pressure has encouraged the development of many aesthetic activities - music, painting, pottery, dancing, modelling and so on.

At the second stage of education, particularly in high schools and the first years of upper schools, the introduction of the C.S.E. administered by schools has new curriculum and teaching practices, e.g. team teaching. Unstreamed high school teaching groups have been made more possible.

Teacher recruitment and deployment policies have also played an important part in innovation. The search for all-round dedicated heads and assistant teachers with wide cultural interests as well as competence in their own areas of specialisation has been successful. Candidates from many parts of the country have been appointed either straight from college, or to more senior posts including headships. The director's influence in the appointment of head teachers has been mentioned. Several of them have been associated with national, curriculum and research projects. In the case of other appointments the head's opinion is decisive. A policy of building in every school a team, the members of which accept the leadership of the head teacher, seems to have been largely successful. This no doubt is in some measure due to the fact that the heads pass on down the line to assistant staff freedom to develop their own methods.

teachers and administrators information about the schools has been given. The Press has been well informed and briefed. The county orchestras have been acclaimed at home and abroad. The county art collection has been on exhibition in London and elsewhere. The schools have been well publicised in the United States. Close contacts have been established with other foreign countries, in particular with France. In Our Experience, written by educators in Leicestershire and edited by Stewart Mason, touches on most aspects of the work in Leicestershire schools.

An enormous number of visitors from England and overseas have been received and welcomed. One school in less than two years of existence had been visited over 1,000 times. Representatives of other local authorities, academics, civil servants, teachers, politicians are among those who have wished to see for themselves how the Leicestershire schools work in practice. The evidence is that they have been impressed, thus creating a climate of opinion favourable to the policies pursued.

The result is that not only have the people inside the system been convinced of the value of the advanced practices but many influential educationists outside it have seen that they can be generalised throughout a system. The willingness of the Authority to expose its schools to this kind of critical inspection has doubtless contributed to the widespread acceptance of many of the policies pursued.

Within the framework of the 1944 Act a local education authority has considerable freedom to innovate. One source of innovation is the representatives of the political party who form a majority on the council or education committee. In proposals to reorganise secondary education the initiative in many LEA's in England has come from such groups. Not so in Leicestershire. Here a tradition of progressive policies was capitalised upon by the director of education. His background especially as one of Her Majesty's Inspectors made it possible for him to establish channels of communication between local government committees, officials and teachers, as well as with his opposite numbers in the central government. In formulating policy he was clearly prepared to consider alternatives, adapt the innovations to suit conditions and to listen to feedback from a variety of sources. He placed great trust in his officials and allowed teachers considerable freedom.

He himself denies that he has any authenticated theoretical philosophy of education. He claims to have picked up ideas, worked them over, then looked for ways of putting them into practice. Despite such disclaimers, at the most general level, the work of the Leicestershire LEA is based upon a coherent set of principles and a recognisable strategy. The strategy has been based upon a determination on the part of the director to see policies succeed reinforced by a willingness to face facts and a desire to educate the personnel involved. Within this framework diversity of outlook and opinion have been encouraged, which has meant that many innovations have grass-roots origins.

The tactical skill of Stewart Mason perhaps more than anything explains the success of the innovations. His ability to persuade opponents and enlist loyal support is evident. His ability at times to be tough is also clear. Above all, however, it is his skill in analysing problems and presenting solutions which are acceptable and workable (based upon carefully collected evidence) to those who are responsible finally for the adoption of policy and to those whose task it is to implement, that has been decisive.

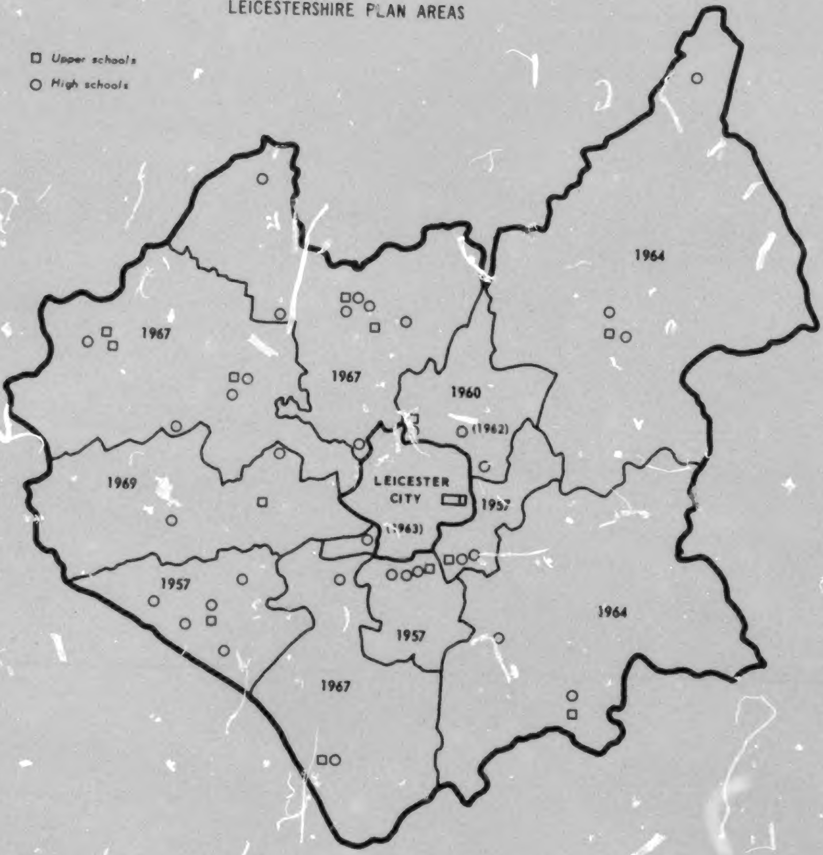
That such controversial and indeed revolutionary changes should come about in a conservative English county with such speed should therefore be less of a mystery than at the outset of this inquiry. Throughout the county, among officials, teachers, heads and advisers there is virtually unanimous agreement that without Stewart Mason the re-organisation of secondary education and the introduction of so many school reforms would not have succeeded. His determination and charisma are keys to any understanding of the way in which political forces in Leicestershire have been mobilised. The successful management of innovations in the county is due, more than to any other single factor, to Stewart Mason.

Appendix 1: 14+ TRANSFER RATES FOR INDIVIDUAL UPPER SCHOOLS

Upper School District	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Oadby/Wigston	23.7	28.8	37.2	41.9	49.9	54.7	52.5	separate upper school opened in Oadby						
Oadby								66	70	85	84	100	100	100
Wigston								52	54	58	64	71	70	77
Hinckley	9	13	16.5	29	27	35.4	42.7	44.4	49	53	53	59	64	65
Birstall				37	35.5	34.6	40	45	52	54	82	82	83	83
Melton Mowbray									54	62	67	69	70	73
Market Harborough									50	51	60	65	64	64
Ashby de la Zouch											25	40	44	72
Coalville											42	45	45	55
Loughborough											45	47	47	62
Quorn											55	57	68	70
Lutterworth											42	53	62	71
Desford													61	74
Countesthorpe														99
Overall transfer rates in Leicestershire Plan areas - percentage of 14 + groups in high schools										53.9	57.4	62.5	64.6	72.1 %

Appendix 2

LEICESTERSHIRE PLAN AREAS


□ Upper schools
○ High schools
1967
1967
1964
1960
(1962)
LEICESTER CITY
(1963)
1957
1969
1957
1957
1964
1967

Part Two

DEVON, UNITED KINGDOM

The following chapter is based on a pilot study undertaken by Richard O. Carlson of the Centre for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration at the University of Oregon, United States, who acted as an OECD consultant in the autumn of 1970 and the early months of 1971. The Secretariat is also indebted to Brian Holmes of the University of London, United Kingdom, who supplied further information which is incorporated into the study in its present form.

1970

SUMMARY

Devon is a rural and beautiful county in south-west England. This study describes the background to two educational innovations initiated by the Devon local education authority.

It shows how change - in this case quite radical change - can be achieved through a conventional administration, and the authors go on to point to some of the lessons that can be learnt from the way in which the local authority managed change. In both cases it is too early to judge the success of the implementation of the innovations, but the tactics and strategies of the officials who had to manoeuvre their plans through the difficult waters of public and specialist opinion are fully described.

The first innovation comes under the general heading of reorganisation of secondary education on comprehensive lines. It shows how local opinion in a particular area of the county was polarised by suggestions which threatened the future of an old-established and respected grammar school, and in particular its academic sixth form. The relatively conventional plans for reorganisation formed by a local Board of head teachers and the principal of the local technical college were eventually replaced by a more radical plan, initiated by officers in the Authority's Education Office, to educate all pupils between the ages of 16 and 19 who wished to stay in education within the technical college. This unusual plan caused immediate difficulties because of the divisions which existed nationally between secondary schooling and further education - divisions reflected in the organisation of the Authority and also in the organisation of the central Department of Education and Science.

Because initial consultations between officials and head teachers in the area on the new plan were confidential, when it was made public there was something of an outcry over the lack of consultation - an outcry that came largely and predictably from the grammar school supporters. The case study indicates

how good working relationships both within the education office and between it and the Department of Education and Science in London helped to smooth the passage of the plan through the Education Committee, the County Council and eventually through the Department and gain for it the approval of the Secretary of State for Education.

The second innovation described is the growth of pre-school education in Devon - a growth started largely on the initiative of voluntary helpers, through the local Pre-School Playgroups Association, and by certain enthusiasts from within the Authority's Education and Health Departments. The case study shows that following a series of meetings held with the approval of the Authority it was realised that there was considerable demand for an expansion of pre-school education in the area, and also many volunteers prepared to carry the expansion through. The local University of Exeter was approached to help to arrange training courses for pre-school playgroup leaders, but before that programme got off the ground the University's Board of Governors disbanded it. Then further education centres in the county were approached and helped to organise a full programme of basic and supplementary courses. Soon the Health Department, with the approval of the Education Department and the Pre-School Playgroups Association, was able to make basic training or teaching experience mandatory for all playgroup leaders. The co-operation between volunteers and officials in this and other ways resulted in a rapid increase in the number of playgroups in the county, and national recognition of the Authority as a progressive innovator in this field. A reorganisation of the departments of the Authority, underway at the time of the study, may threaten the future of the programme, the author suggests.

In his final section, the authors summarise the lessons to be learnt from the management of these two innovations in Devon, emphasising relationships with outside agencies like the Department and with the mass media. They also indicate that the organisation of the Education Department is flexible, allowing many members of staff to collaborate in planning and giving their views on innovations. And finally they liken the management of change in the Authority to a game of rugby, in which the ball gets passed around a lot, dropped often, and in which there is no precise division of labour; however always there is someone who picks up the ball and takes it somewhere.

CONTENTS

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION 109

Chapter II

REORGANISATION FOR THE 16-19 AGE GROUP IN BARNSTAPLE

Background: Circular 10/65 113
The first Barnstaple plan 115
Request for new plan 117
The 16-19 solution 117
Justifying the plan 118
First confidential steps towards approval 121
Going public 125
Final adoption 132
Implementing the plan 134
Reflections on management of the Barnstaple plan 136

Chapter III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION

The origins of the movement 140
Development of the pre-school service 141

Chapter IV

LESSONS TO BE LEARNT FROM DEVON'S MANAGEMENT OF CHANGE IN EDUCATION

Relationships with the Department of Education
and Science 145
The use of the mass media 146
The Devon Education Department 148
Some final reflections 150
Conclusion 152

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Devon is one of two of the English education authorities chosen for study in this series. It and the other - Leicestershire - are, under the Education Act of 1944 (the most recent fundamental piece of educational legislation in England), responsible for education at three progressive stages - primary (up to 11) secondary (compulsory up to 15 - or 16 from 1972/3 - and continuing to 18) and further education (overlapping with secondary from 15 upwards. The Devon Local Education Authority (LEA) administers 307 primary schools, 40 secondary schools and four institutions of further education (FE). It is also responsible for one college of education, Rolle College at Exmouth. Within the county is the University of Exeter which, like all British universities, is not administered by the local authority.

Devon - part of the south-west peninsula of England which stretches into Cornwall - is a rural county, and compared with Leicestershire's 850 square miles occupies an area of over 2,500 square miles. Its population is sparse and declining, from just over 500,000 in 1951 to 440,000 in 1971. Three of the areas of dense population, Plymouth with 250,000 inhabitants, Exeter with 92,000 and Torbay with about 100,000 administer their own affairs, including education, as county boroughs.

There are few large towns in the administrative area of Devon: Barnstaple in the north-east, which features in this case study, is the largest with a population of 17,000. Other towns range down in population from 11,000 to 4,000.

The County Council offices are in Exeter, forty miles from Barnstaple, and communication in the county is not easy because of the hills and inlets on the beautiful north and south coasts.

Some control of education is delegated, as in other large English counties, to three divisional executive offices. Barnstaple lies within the North Devon divisional executive (another is that of South-West Devon).

The Devon County Council administers a rural system of education whose development reflects the kind of problems which rural authorities in England and elsewhere have had to face, and illustrates the role which local interests have played in it. Sometimes the relative isolation of one community from another has helped educational change. On other issues it has made it possible for strong local opposition to delay proposed reform. A brief summary of educational developments in Devon over the last century puts the management of recent innovations in its correct perspective.

Grammar schools were founded in the 16th and 17th centuries in 11 of Devon's small towns. By the 1860s most of these schools had declined because most parents sent their sons either to boarding schools outside the county or to the new private academies for a more practical education. At Tiverton, Blundell's School was able to attract pupils from other parts of the country and has remained a well-known "public" school (those familiar with the English system will know that "public" means private independent fee-paying). So by the nineteenth century, only two grammar schools - at Tavistock and Crediton - were thriving.

Under the 1902 Education Act, local authorities were responsible for the development of publicly maintained grammar schools. By 1915 four such schools had been established, and other existing schools were receiving public funds. Several of these "aided" schools became fully maintained secondary schools between 1918 and 1939.

The depression of the 1930s held up development but new grammar school buildings were opened in three places between 1930 and 1940. The last to be built was opened to serve the towns of Paignton, Brixham and Dartmouth in 1937.

In 1926 the Hadow Report recommended that "all-age" schools (primary combined with secondary) should be abolished and a new and separate stage of secondary education for all should be established. In Devon, policies along these lines were first introduced in 1929. In practice, account had to be taken of the hundreds of small village schools scattered over thinly populated areas. Local opposition to transporting children long distances to the nearest town was strong. There was also rivalry over the selection of centres where the consolidated "senior" schools were to be located. Some all-age schools remained as late as the 1950s, and it was not in fact until 1962 that reorganisation along Hadow lines was completed in Devon - some fifteen years later than in Leicestershire.

The 1944 Education Act abolished fees for selective grammar schools, within its general policy of free secondary education for all. Selection for these schools until the mid-sixties was based in Devon, as in other parts of England, on intelligence quotient (IQ), arithmetic and English tests at the age of 11 - the "11 plus" examination. Later, the 11 plus as a formal examination was abolished and a flexible system of verbal reasoning (intelligence) tests and teachers' recommendations was introduced, with an appeals procedure moderated through a panel of teachers. Under this system, some 24 per cent of pupils gained admission to grammar schools - a high figure compared with other English rural areas. Meanwhile the non-selective (secondary modern) schools found an increasing number of pupils staying on beyond the age of compulsory attendance and taking examination courses. One secondary modern at Plymstock developed to the point at which it was described as a comprehensive school. Pressure to consolidate small schools may well account for the first tentative moves towards comprehensive secondary schools: in 1954 a new building was planned to adjoin an existing grammar school in Tavistock. Five years later it opened as a comprehensive school. So, as in other English authorities, the first tentative moves towards comprehensive reorganisation grew naturally from within the existing system. But the impetus behind present plans to complete the process of reorganisation before 1980 came in the form of a circular from the Governmental Department of Education and Science in London to all local education authorities in 1965 - the now famous Circular 10/65.

This case study reviews in detail two innovations in Devon - both dating from 1965. The first involves the reorganisation of education for the 16-19 year olds; the second deals with the expansion of pre-school provision. In each case the planning, adoption of policy and implementation are described. Inevitably, a study covering only two aspects of change in Devon can only produce speculative and tentative statements about its ability to manage innovations - and the conclusions of this study should be viewed as such.

Chapter II

REORGANISATION FOR THE 16-19 AGE GROUP AT BARNSTAPLE

Since 1945, major policies in the development of secondary education in England have included:

- the abolition of fees
- the extension of schooling, both by raising the statutory age of attendance and by encouraging voluntary staying on beyond it
- upgrading secondary modern schools (by introducing examination courses)
- improving 11 plus selection procedures
- establishing comprehensive secondary schooling for pupils aged 11 to 15 and thus abolishing the need for selection at 11
- extending comprehensive schooling beyond the age of 15 or 16.

By the mid 1960s, although 11 plus selection had not been abolished completely in the county, all these policies with one exception were being slowly implemented in Devon, either from choice or because of national legislation. The exception was extending comprehensive education upwards from 15. This study describes the reorganisation of education for the 16-19 age group in the Barnstaple area showing where the initiatives for and the opposition to change came from.

BACKGROUND: Circular 10/65

The Labour government elected in 1964 were committed to a policy of bringing in a universal system of comprehensive secondary education. Circular 10/65 issued the following year was intended to lead local authorities to abolish separation in secondary education and with it the much-criticised 11 plus examination on which the previous bi- or tri-partite system depended (the tri-partite system was intended to consist of grammar, secondary modern and technical schools, but very few technical schools were built and in most parts of the country the system was bi-, rather than tri-partite).

As has already been shown, Devon had moved some way towards comprehensive reorganisation prior to 1965. But the Circular certainly moved the local authority into further action. Development plans were formulated in 1966, and the proposal that we are concerned with - to bring the school sixth forms (age 16 upwards) and forms of further education together into one institution first took recognisable shape in Barnstaple in 1968.

The Circular was carefully worded, and in accordance with the delicate relationship between central and local administration, it was worded as a "request": "The Secretary of State .... requests local education authorities, if they have not already done so, to prepare and submit plans for reorganising secondary education in their areas on comprehensive lines ... and to submit such plans within one year...".

The Circular listed six possible frameworks for reorganisation:

- orthodox comprehensive schools with age range 11 to 18
- two tier system in which all children transfer at 11 to a junior comprehensive school and all go on at 13 or 14 to a senior comprehensive school
- two tier system in which all pupils transfer to junior comprehensive at 11, and at 13 or 14 some transfer to senior school, while the remainder stay on in the same school
- two tier system in which all go to junior comprehensives and at 13 or 14 all pupils have a choice between moving to a senior school catering for pupils who expect to stay on well beyond the compulsory age, and a senior school catering for those who do not
- comprehensive schools with an age range of 11 to 16 combined with sixth form colleges for pupils over that age
- system of middle schools which straddle the primary/ secondary age ranges. Pupils would transfer from primary school at 8 or 9 to a comprehensive school with age range 8 to 12 or 9 to 13. From this middle school they move on to a comprehensive school with an age range of 12 or 13 to 18.

THE FIRST BARNSTAPLE PLAN

The Authority's first development plan for the Barnstaple area, formulated in 1966, was largely the work of an Academic Board, set up several years previously following a request from head teachers in the area to the County Council. It came as a result of the general interest in reorganisation which was stirring in Devon as elsewhere: a low density of population also increases the need to find ways of consolidating resources. Another reason for wanting an Academic Board in Barnstaple could be its distance - 40 miles - from the county offices in Exeter. The Education Department (the full-time administration of the Local Education Authority) gave its blessing to the Board. At first, it consisted of the heads of the area's secondary schools and the principal of the North Devon Technical College - all of whom of course had a direct interest in the reorganisation scheme.

The reorganisation plan produced on the basis of their work proposed comprehensive schooling for all children between the ages of 11 and 16. Barnstaple had two secondary schools - the grammar school and the county secondary school. These, together with the county secondary school at Braunton (six miles away) and South Molton (12 miles away), with the possible inclusion of parts of the area served by another county school at Chulmleigh, were to become the 11-16 comprehensives. Pupils wishing to go on from one of them to a sixth-form course, and particularly to work for the Advanced level General Certificate of Education examination (A level), would transfer to a separate sixth-form centre sited at the then existing Barnstaple grammar school. This plan allowed the grammar school to retain its tradition of preparing pupils for university entrance. Its own pupils wishing to go on into the sixth form would remain on the same site, to be joined by pupils from the other comprehensives.

Among members of the Academic Board, this proposal was regarded either as a "splendid" solution, or as a "satisfactory" one. The headmaster of the grammar school and his supporters in the area thought it splendid because it more or less preserved their sixth form and thus the prestige and status of the grammar school on whose site the new centre for advanced work would be established.

Those who thought it only a satisfactory solution saw that it was possible that the other "comprehensives" would not have the same status as that established on the grammar school site with an adjoining sixth-form centre: this, they feared, would be viewed as both different and better.

Despite the reservations, the plan was supported by the County Hall senior education officials and was approved by the Education Committee. So - with the warm support of some teachers, the lukewarm support of others, and acceptance of the plan by administrators and the Education Committee, there was nothing to stop the approval of the plan by the County Council and its submission for approval to the Department of Education and Science in London. But it is important to note here that it was by now recognised by the Chief Education Officer (the senior authority official) that there were considerable differences of opinion on the best way to arrange the education of the 16-19 age group.

Discussions continued in the county and doubts about the separate sixth-form centre were raised on educational and social grounds. There were practical problems too. The authority believed that the scheme ought not to be introduced piecemeal and had asked the Department of Education and Science to approve a building programme to enable the grammar school (then four-form entry) to become a six-form entry 11 to 16 comprehensive with an adjoining sixth-form centre and the other secondary schools to become seven-form entry comprehensives. A deputation from Devon met the Secretary of State for Education and Science to press for its building programme, but was informed that only a substantial increase in the child population of Barnstaple would justify the Department's approval. And this, the local authority knew, was more than unlikely to occur given the general decrease in Devon's population.

As in other areas, the local authority found that the government were not able to match the enthusiasm for reorganisation shown in Circular 10/65 with adequate resources for the necessary new and adapted buildings. It was made quite clear that extra funds (other than to provide roofs over new heads) would not be available for a very long time.

REQUEST FOR NEW PLAN

Faced with this rebuff on financial grounds, and being anxious (in the light of the country-wide movement towards comprehensives) to achieve reorganisation of schools in the Barnstaple area, the Chief Education Officer gave the Academic Board the task of rethinking how best this could be done. The Board completed its task during the late autumn of 1967, and reported to the Chief Education Officer in February 1968. It offered two plans. Neither of them had received the unanimous support of Board members - reflecting the differences of opinion that had begun to appear when the first plan was formulated and lowering the Board's authority.

One plan proposed keeping the sixth-form centre on the site of the grammar school, while converting the remaining secondary modern schools and the first five forms of the grammar school into non-selective schools. There would thus be no 11 plus - each school would serve its own area. This plan, predictably, had the strong support of the headmaster of the grammar school and was equally predictably opposed to greater and lesser extents by the other members of the Board.

The second plan was to set up a separate sixth-form centre within the North Devon Technical College, converting the grammar and other secondary schools into comprehensives. This was supported to some extent by all members of the Board - except the head of the grammar school.

In presenting these plans, the Academic Board clearly saw its role as advising the Chief Education Officer on a matter which was for him to decide, and on his advice for the Education Committee and eventually the County Council to base their decision.

THE 16-19 SOLUTION

In fact, the Chief Education Officer chose neither of the plans, because among members of his staff in County Hall new and more radical plans for reorganising the Barnstaple area were being generated.

The principles of these new proposals were first put on paper in March 1968 under the title Education 16-18. The paper was circulated and discussed by senior members of the staff of the Education Department in County Hall (an article entitled A 16 to 19 Solution, by one of the Devon education officers appeared in the weekly local authority journal Education, on 27 March, 1970, setting out the idea in detail). Briefly, the radical plan was to base all education for 16 to 19 year olds - both academic and vocational - on the North Devon Technical College.

However, before going further to describe the way in which Devon officers succeeded in navigating a highly controversial issue through the difficult waters of public controversy and constitutional opposition to the point at which the plan could be submitted to the Department for approval, it is necessary to try to understand the strength of feeling in the opposition.

The grammar school traditions of the English system have already been alluded to in Chapter I. The academic sixth form in England was limited to the public and grammar schools. Its traditional target was and still is preparing pupils for entry to university. And while sixth formers now go on in increasing numbers to colleges of education (teacher training colleges), polytechnics or further education colleges, the university orientation remains strong. Six-form qualifications are the key not only to entrance to higher education, but also to professions and key jobs. The academic sixth form is highly valued by many members of the educational establishment, and it is from this quarter that most opposition to reorganisation on comprehensive lines has come.

Any plan involving the dismantling of an existing grammar school sixth form was bound to arouse strong opposition - often couched in highly emotional terms, a phenomenon seen not only in England but wherever there have been moves to do away with selective secondary education. And the Barnstaple plan went even further in proposing that sixth-form work should be transferred from the schools to the further education sector.

JUSTIFYING THE PLAN

To produce a plan that was bound to cause such controversy required courage, and more important, a good justification. According to one of the chief architects of the plan, who was a member of the Chief Education Officer's staff, the new ideas had a five-fold source:

The sixth form and particularly its examination structure were known to be under scrutiny... When changes were made to examinations, the overall purposes of sixth-form curriculum would change. As a second factor, there seemed to be an increasing awareness that academic qualification and the preparation for it was as firmly vocational as any technical qualification. The distinction was increasingly an unreal one between disciplines of study and the application of those disciplines. Again it was assumed - but the assumption had the strength of being widely shared - that some children were lost to continued full-time education because after the age of 16 they wanted a course of studies which was not fully orientated towards higher education or wholly vocational in character: there was room for the opportunity to offer a better mix of studies.

A fourth starting point centred on the argument of cohesion: if comprehensive schools were designed among other things to diminish social divisions from the age of 11, it seemed right to prevent the re-appearance of that division at the age of 16. A fifth point was related to school reorganisation in itself; it seemed possible that five schools in an area of Devon in which there was a readiness for comprehensive education, could be reorganised more quickly if a new solution was found for the sixth form.

"From these ideas grew the proposal to bring together what is now a sixth form of 240 pupils with a college of technical and further education which had 100 students following A level courses in a total full-time student body of 500 with 2,300 part-time students."

The same spokesman made the following case for the Barnstaple (North Devon) plan:

"In order to work, the amalgamation must secure four ends: it must ensure that the traditional A level student has a wider range of examinable choices than at present - and this will not be very easy when the grammar school already gives a broad choice of well organised academic options. Secondly, what we now regard as the conventional A level student must be given a chance of taking a first vocational qualification in a related field - if he wishes - at the same time as his A levels. This goes beyond saying that OND (the Ordinary National Diploma -

not normally taken in schools) gives both vocational and academic opportunities within the same structure of requirements; the relatedness of A level to the vocational element has to be a real one in terms of future alternatives to the present pattern of syllabuses. Such new alternatives should also mean that the Student has to have a well mapped out extension of his general education.

"The same arguments apply even more forcefully to what are now the rare birds who stay on after the age of 16 to take only one A level; this type of student will increase in number, At the same time, there is the hope that more and more of those who are compelled to stay on until 16 will exercise the same kind of option as the present day voluntary fifth-former. A voluntary staying on until 17 will not only show that all that is gone before is developing healthily but also call ... for the kind of sophisticated ingenuity which has made possible the best type of work in C.S.E.

"The high flyer should have the chance of a vocational appetizer before he commits himself finally to an academic higher education. Those in the middle band of ability need something more than the limited choices of examinable work to which they are sometimes driven; the new men (and they will not always be those of a lower intellectual calibre) need, in their voluntary exposure to continued full-time education, the chance to take part in studies which pay off with a marketable examination result and which effectively prolong the best kind of general education.

"The concept of prolonged general education beyond the age of 16 is an essential part of the North Devon proposal. It means that mathematics and science have to be taken up again by those who were frightened off by early failure, that languages (or language) confront again those who at 14 began to think these things did not matter, that home economics and craftwork are offered once more to those whose timetable at an earlier age did not allow these subjects to become interesting.

"More significantly, shared courses of continued general education which are designed as individually as possible to contrast with and to supplement main studies should go beyond many of the present confusions about general studies and liberal studies. It should go beyond, too, the idea of simply bringing together the two better-known cultures. In a combined further education and A level context it means both bringing together yet other cultures and bringing together the differing expectations of students with differing aim. It also prescribes, if it is systematically planned to this end, a way of bringing together the full-time and the part-time student.

"How the full-timer and the part-time student can mix is one of the more frequent questions. Around it revolve issues of pastoral care, of counselling, and of social organisation. The climates of sixth forms and colleges are different. The difference eludes rigorous definition but it has to be taken into account. For this reason there will have to be in the North Devon proposal a carefully planned continuity of tutorial and guidance services between the schools and the post 16 college. The child's need for advice - whether about his progress or his choice of courses, about his behaviour, attitudes and personal problems - changes as he matures into a student. A four-, five-, or seven-year school career allows imperceptible changes, if the pastoral work is as good as it should be, to be taken steadily into account. The bigger break which comes with educating everyone over the age of 16 together in another institution, creates a positive need to avoid discontinuity ... If it succeeds we shall have a good working model of tertiary education. And if it achieves what its originators hope for it, it will allow changing social and economic demands to be reflected rather more quickly than is at present possible in our divided systems of education and training."

FIRST CONFIDENTIAL STEPS TOWARDS APPROVAL

This glimpse at the origins of the adopted plan to reorganise secondary education in the Barnstaple area, the ideas behind it, the arguments advanced in favour of it and the possible centres of resistence to it leads naturally to a description and assessment of the way in which a novel approach was navigated up to and past many natural obstacles.

The first obstacle had to be overcome by securing support from senior members of staff in the Education Department in County Hall. It is reported that support was rather easily won. But it is also reported that almost all the reasons for this support were non-educational in character.

Firstly, reorganisation was accepted in principle by members of the Education Department, so details of the scheme were of little real interest. From another point of view, the scheme offered the possibility of allowing the Further Education Branch of the Education Department to carry the initial capital costs of the reorganisation rather than the Schools Branch. As will be noted later this financial aspect of the scheme, cutting across as it did the tradition of separate fiscal management for "school" and "further education" created difficulties at the Department of Education and Science. It is reported, and given the task education officers on the administrative side have to perform this was to be expected, that discussions among senior members of the Chief Education Officer's staff in County Hall centred round the administrative problems which would arise. There is no evidence that the advisers on the Chief Education Officer's staff debated its implications in detail. The impression gained is that the "seamless cloak" idea, as the plan is sometimes called (emphasizing the argument that there is not any natural break between secondary and further, academic and vocational education) was unobserved, was not discussed, and was not comprehended as a rider to the reorganisation scheme. Insofar as it was understood, while comprehensive education had the general support of the Education Department, some of the staff found the plan's central idea - comprehensive education bring together academic and vocational courses for those aged 16 to 18 - difficult to accept.

While the reorganisation scheme was making its not too clean or clear passage through the power structures within the Education Department, the Barnstaple Academic Board was invited to County Hall to share in the process of thinking about and thinking through the scheme. Remember, it was neither of the alternatives submitted by the Board to the Chief Education Officer. Note also that the new scheme did make it possible to create the impression that it was in fact one of these alternatives, namely that of creating a separate unit for the sixth form in the North Devon Technical College.

According to key informants, the rather fine but truly significant difference between what the Academic Board had proposed and what County Hall were now proposing was not detected by many of the people who were invited to comment on the new plan. In part the significant difference went undetected because the new plan had novel features which went far beyond the relocation of a sixth-form centre. Another reason why its true significance was missed was because opponents made the position of the grammar school the centre of attention. One member of the Academic Board gave as his opinion that the sixth form (part of the existing grammar school) and all it stood for would suffer grievous damage if it were placed in the Technical College. Further, if it were thus decapitated, the grammar school would suffer a death blow. Such arguments from supporters of the grammar school were not new and those members of the Academic Board who did not share this concern for the grammar school tradition were pleased to note that the Chief Education Officer appeared to be taking up the battle in support of the alternative they had favoured in discussions leading up to the report by the Academic Board to him. In short, members of the Academic Board were clear about some of the implications but not quite so aware of the deeper and novel hopes which motivated the authors of the new 16-19 plan.

During these early meetings between the Academic Board and officers from County Hall, two decisions of note were made. One, established immediately, was that discussions about the Barnstaple plan should be held in strict confidence. This request, from the Chief Education Officer to a small number of persons, all of whom had direct responsibility for the institutions involved, was in no way unusual. Expert opinion could be obtained before widening the debate. Some officers at County Hall felt that such confidential discussions had an important function to play. They appreciated that the "seamless cloak" idea was more radical and novel than was realised. They anticipated some resistance to the proposals on other grounds and felt that it was reasonable to set aside a period of time in which discussions could be held in confidence. This would delay and perhaps reduce turmoil in the education system until the plan had been thoroughly thought out. In particular this period would delay what was seen as forthcoming panic at the grammar school and would give officers at County Hall some peace and quiet to probe the reactions of the Department of Education and Science in London to the scheme. This was a matter of vital importance because all such plans have by statute to be submitted to the Secretary of State who has the power, on the advice of his officials to accept or reject reorganisation plans.

The second decision in the sequence of events leading to the final acceptance of the plan concerned the composition of the Academic Board. Its title was changed to Officers' Working Party. A very senior education officer from County Hall was made its chairman. Its size was increased by the addition of a number of education officers from County Hall, the regional HMI (Her Majesty's Inspector - the local representative of the national independent inspectorate) and an academic from the University of Exeter. This reorganisation obviously took the committee outside the sphere of local Barnstaple and district educational politics, gave more influence to the Authority's education officers and ensured the participation of persons who at one level were neutrals even though they may have favoured the "idea" of a comprehensive school for the over sixteen age range.

The reorganisation of the Academic Board into the Officers' Working Party can be described either as a take-over by officers in County Hall or as a way of expanding the Barnstaple Academic Board. In support of the second explanation is the logic that the task of re-planning was large and complex and that more and different people were needed to carry it through. Against this view, the take-over argument rests on the notion that the Academic Board had been charged with the task of developing a reorganisation plan and that this responsibility had then been withdrawn. The appointment of a member of the Education Department as chairman was indicative of this transfer of power. Whatever the truth of the matter it is important to realise that a few members of the original Academic Board viewed the increase in size and the installation of a chairman as a take-over . It is perhaps this feeling that is reflected in the frequent "we" - "they" character of discussions in the Officers' Working Party.

At its first meetings held during 1968 the Officers' Working Party devoted a great deal of time to clarifying details of the plan, to gaining full acceptance for it from education officers in County Hall and the original members of the Academic Board and to preparing the arguments in its favour in such a way as to convince the Department of Education and Science that it was viable. It had also to take account of the need to convince teachers in the area, governors of the schools affected and the public at large. In particular the anticipated opposition from supporters of the existing grammar school had to be assessed and arguments formulated in a way which would win them over to the plan. Finally attention had to be paid to arguments which would persuade the Education Committee of the Devon County Council and the Council itself. Approval for the scheme had to be gained from many quarters.

Statutory approval was needed from the Education Committee and the County Council and from the Department of Education and Science. A favourable vote by the Education Committee virtually ensures that the County Council gives its final stamp of approval. The Department of Education and Science in London could only consider a scheme submitted to it by the legally constituted local education authority, namely the Devon County Council naturally the Education Committee did not wish to approve a scheme which would be opposed locally and rejected by the Department of Education and Science.

GOING PUBLIC

When the Officers' Working Party seemed agreed on the plan and when it was judged that the Department of Education and Science would approve it, a letter was drafted by the Chief Education Officer - presenting the basic ideas of the scheme - and sent to heads of the schools in the area, who had formed the Academic Board. They were invited to study the scheme and report back any possible flaws in it. Once revised in accordance with these views the letter was mailed to every teacher in the area and reached them just before the opening of school in the autumn term 1968. Of some interest is the fact that as an alternative to this letter a meeting of teachers was considered. It was rejected because it was felt that a meeting would cause factions to be openly formed and divisiveness would thus be encouraged.

It is important also to keep in mind that throughout the discussions of the Officers' Working Party had been kept confidential as far as possible. Thus those teachers (and others) in the Barnstaple area who were involved in the reorganisation were virtually totally uninformed about details of the scheme. They were aware of the previous proposal made for a separate sixth-form centre on the site of the existing grammar school.

The evidence suggests that they were expecting this plan to be carried out. Thus when news of the more radical new "seamless cloak"plan to effect the comprehensivisation of education from 16 to 18 plus - and thus effectively from 5 to 18 - was made known in the letter to all teachers many people were shocked.

The opposition predictably centred round the position of the grammar school. The press took the issue up by reporting 3 October 1968 the reaction of a member of the Board of Governors of the grammar school. Under the heading: "Warning of Pressure to Change Siting of Sixth-Form College" it reported him as speaking of "... influential people...." behind the scheme and as saying that "... the plan would mean the dislocation of this school and its destruction as a true seat of learning..." Inasmuch as "... the function of the school for four centuries had been to provide the leaders of the community in North Devon... I think you should ... prepare to gird up your loins and do battle in defence of this splendid and honourable school".

The main objections to the new plan were based on grammar school traditions: that the entire concept and values of the conventional sixth form would be lost. If it went, so would the most able teachers who were attracted by good sixth-form work. The quality of instruction in the schools would decline. Another argument emphasized that the sixth-formers stood as models for the younger children in the grammar schools: their beneficial influence would be lost to the schools under the new plan. Moreover, the sixth-formers would lose the opportunity to work with young adolescents which had allowed them to develop as leaders. In short, the grammar school as it has been known in England for more than half a century would be destroyed.

Other arguments suggested that the technical college could not provide a proper ethos for the academic sixth-former. Put at its extreme, the argument that "proper young girls" in the sixth form might, at the tech, come into contact with someone learning to be a car mechanic. What havoc that would create! Such arguments are still put forward in all seriousness in those parts of England which have remained for the most part relatively untouched by the postwar social revolution.

A third kind of argument turned on parents' right to choose the kind of school attended by their children. This right is, with practical reservations, built into the 1944 Act.

Objectors suggested that all who wished to stay on in the 16 to 19 age group at the same centre were denied freedom of choice. Of course, this argument assumes that under the old, selective system parents did have a choice: in fact both the grammar school and the technical college selected the students that they were prepared to take beyond the statutory leaving age - so the choice was a myth even if some parents (the grammar school parents) believed it to be a reality.

Finally there were objections on the grounds that those who were to be in any way affected by the scheme had not been properly consulted.

Meanwhile during the time these objections were taking shape and finding a voice, officers from County Hall were going round the schools to discuss the scheme with teachers. The proposal was outlined to members of staff in each of the schools involved during September and October 1968. The governing bodies of the schools had also to be persuaded so the proposal was sent to the governors of each of the schools. The North Devon Divisional Executive had also to approve. The proposals were sent to school governors and the Executive on 16 November 1968. At its meeting on 25 November the Divisional Executive gave its blessing, and that afternoon at an ad hoc meeting of the combined governing bodies of the Technical College and the four schools to be re-organised the Chief Education Officer obtained a vote in favour of the scheme.

Opposition had not been entirely eliminated in the area. The day after this ad hoc meeting, at one of their regular meetings, the governors of Barnstaple grammar school and the county secondary school went on record as being opposed to the re-organisation scheme. As part of the campaign in November the Member of Parliament for North Devon indicated that he would raise questions with the Secretary of State for Education and Science. A rural council wrote to the County Council seeking assurances that parents would be consulted before decisions were made. The head of the grammar school wrote to each member of the Education Committee stating his opposition to the plan. In so doing he incurred the wrath of the Chief Education Officer. The staff of the grammar school issued two formal statements of protest. The Parent/Teachers' Association arranged to hold a public meeting on 9 January 1969.

The timing of this meeting is of some interest. It was planned by supporters of the grammar school and not by County Hall. The organiser of the meeting explains the timing because it was assumed by him and other protesters that County Hall would call a public meeting and hold one before the Education Committee in Exeter took its vote. The assumption was wrong but by the time this was realised it was too late to change the date of the meeting. In negotiations with County Hall the Chief Education Officer offered to meet on 1 January 1969, the day before the meeting at which the Education Committee was to vote on the scheme. The offer was declined. These negotiations are relevant in view of the objection which was raised at the Education Committee's meeting on 2 January 1969.

At this meeting approval was given but not before a motion to delay the vote had been tabled. Its proposer stated that he had heard that not everyone had been consulted. The Chief Education Officer denied this charge and suggested that when those in opposition find themselves losing they are always likely to claim that there has been no consultation. The motion was lost and the vote in favour of the scheme taken. It is somewhat surprising that the protestors were so easily defeated since the chairman of the Education Committee was himself suspicious of the plan and had requested that he should be permitted to join the Officers' Working Party during its deliberations. This request was regarded as out of order and as a result a sub-committee of the Education Committee was established to receive direct reports from the working party.

These tactics reveal something of the style of navigating the plan through its committee stages by officers in County Hall. They were not acceptable to all. The public meeting organised in Barnstaple took place after the Education Committee had voted. It is reported to have been a heated affair. The members of the audience who were opposed to the reorganisation scheme concentrated their remarks on the aspects of the pattern of education that was being destroyed. The Education Officer defending the scheme concentrated his remarks on the advantages of what was being created. In this way there was little common ground in the dialogue, and only on rare occasions were the defenders and the protesters responding to the same point. Tempers on both sides were lost, charges of railroading were made and angry denials offered. From a distance, the Times Educational Supplement of 17 January 1969, while giving a boost to the idea of the reorganisation scheme,added "..... from the furore in Barnstaple one suspects that toes could have been trodden on a little less hard".

The final decision was, of course, for the County Council to take as the statutory local education authority. Rarely does a county council reject the advice of its Education Committee. On 9 January 1969, the County Council approved the Barnstaple and district reorganisation scheme. The officers at County Hall had piloted it through all the necessary committees. The scheme could now be submitted formally to the Department of Education and Science.

A good deal of groundwork had already been done to prepare for a formal submission of the "seamless cloak" scheme to the Secretary of State for Education and Science. A number of dress rehearsals had been held with the Department which had been kept well informed during the evolution of the plan.

The formal submission was made in a letter from the Chief Education Officer dated 20 February 1969. In it he pointed out that failure on the part of the Department to authorise the necessary building programme was one reason why his Authority had re-examined the plans drawn up in 1966 in response to Circular 10/65. Now the Authority, in submitting its proposal to bring the education of all children between the ages of 16 and 19 under one roof in Barnstaple and district - at the North Devon Technical College, advanced four main reasons in favour of it.

- though there were some 240 students in the existing grammar school sixth form there was no guarantee that numbers would be maintained in a sixth-form centre particularly since there was a growing tendency for sixteen year olds from the feeder schools to transfer to the College.

- in the long run it would be better use of public funds if teaching power, accommodation and equipment were concentrated on one site even though separate provision would continue to be made for Advanced level General Certificate of Education work, i.e. university entrance courses.

- changing views about the broader range of subject choice for those staying on beyond the age of sixteen could be more easily met in a comprehensive unit than in a separate sixth-form centre and a separate institution of further education. The need for more vocationally orientated courses could be met by the provision of the same range and depth of advanced level work as well as vocational courses and a vocationally oriented course of general education.

- a comprehensive unit for 16-19 year olds would remove a social and educational division inside the relatively small community of Barnstaple and district. If comprehensive education was accepted at the primary and secondary levels for the area it seemed logical to extend it for the same reasons to those over the age of sixteen.

The submission went on to make in greater detail the case based upon the wider possibilities the scheme would provide. Three points were made:

- advanced level students would benefit by being able to choose from a wider range of A level courses such as computer science, electrical engineering, workshop practice, applied art etc.

- non A level students would benefit by being able to take the general and vocational studies provided for the A level students.

- a wide range of social and recreational facilities would be available to all young people between 16 and 19 whether they were continuing their education on a part-time or a full time basis.

In his letter, the Chief Education Officer reviewed the consultation procedures adopted, indicated the objections which had come from the staff and parents of the grammar school and mentioned an alternative proposal that there should be two all-through schools (for 11 to 18 year olds) in the Barnstaple area. Against this scheme the Chief Education Officer argued that it would involve the provision of A level courses in three institutions, resulting in unecessary expenditure and a weakening of provision.

Some seven months later in a letter dated 9 October 1969 an official at the Department of Education and Science stated that the Secretary of State had studied the proposals made in the letter of 20 February 1969, that he had noted them with interest, regarded them as novel, felt that they would make the best possible use of existing buildings, and approved of the wide range of educational opportunity for sixth-formers envisaged by the plan. He concluded that the proposals provided "in principle, a satisfactory framework for the development of secondary education in the area".

The Secretary of State drew the attention of the Authority to several aspects of the proposals: namely, the development in consultation with the schools of guidance and counselling services, the association of the schools with the work of the college, the establishment of a curriculum which would provide for the leisure time pursuits and all-round development of individuals, and the satisfactory provision of ancillary services as laid down by the 1944 Education Act for the 16 plus group.

It was also asked that the position of pupils in the feeder schools regarding examinations and requirements regarding compulsory attendance should be looked into.

In a letter dated 21 November 1969 an officer of the Devon Authority replied to the Secretary of State, outlining in detail the programme of reorganisation. Within this period the Authority proposed to re-allocate and re-train teaching staff, plan for continuity in curricular provision between pre-16 and and post-16 education, and ensure that the opportunities for sixth-formers would be no narrower than previously was the case. The letter also stated that step by step planning would be in the hands of a group of senior administrators and one senior adviser from the Devon Education Department together with two HMIs, a professor of education and as an observer a research worker studying local authority planning procedures. He hoped that a research project into the relationship between the schools and further education would be developed.

But while the proposals were acceptable in principle to the Department of Education, there were some difficulties. The Barnstaple reorganisation, involving as it did further education, did not come under any of the six possibilities raised in

Circular 10/65. A major problem concerned the "mix" that was going to occur of school and further education students: a basic decision had to be made to allow money from two separate pockets to be combined for one purpose. This was generally seen as a matter of spending Further Education money on schools - some saw in the scheme an ingenious design to eat up further education money.

Also, detailed rules and regulations for schools and for further education establishments are vastly different, and so the Department had to worry through such matters as school lunches - subsidised at the school level but not in the same way in further education. Would two separate lunch rooms be needed? How could any one truly identify a school as opposed to a further education college student? Similarly, regulations differed regarding medical examinations, textbooks, student travel and a host of other matters. And the Department's own organisation reflected the division, with separate departments with responsibility for schools and for further education, and different branches of HM Inspectorate in the two fields. They all had to be brought together to work out this new situation.

FINAL ADOPTION

Once the plan had been approved in principle by the Department of Education and Science the local education authority was free to publish the necessary public notices and formally to invite and register objections to the scheme with the Secretary of State. For even after all the democratic procedures of consultation have been completed prior to a formal submission, after approval by a national authority, local objectors are free to express their opinions once again according to English law.

The Barnstaple Grammar School Parent-Teacher Association put an eloquent and efficient case against the scheme, concentrating mainly on the issue of lack of proper consultation with interested parties and on the "shoddy" procedures used by the Authority in putting forward the reorganisation scheme. Similarily teachers' associations representing grammar school heads and staff put in appearances and carefully chosen and directed words in an effort to influence the Department to reject the scheme. The Barnstaple Borough Council and the South Molton Rural District Council expressed their opposition.

While these formal objections were being recorded and heard, the mass media implied or directly stated that the resignations of a few heads of departments and teachers from the grammar school staff to take jobs elsewhere was a direct result of the scheme. Newspapers predicted that the grammar school staff would be decimated and the Head suggested in a newspaper interview that the poor results of O level students in the school could be blamed on the furore over the scheme.

After considering all these objections, the Secretary of State gave final approval to the scheme on 21 May 1970, just four weeks before the Labour government he served was defeated in a general election. (His rapid approval came as a shock to one of the Barnstaple protesters who had received a letter from the Secretary of State - also dated 21 May, - which contained the sentence: "I shall be looking very carefully at the scheme before reaching a decision".)

The new government, and the new Secretary of State, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, made their position on secondary reorganisation clear very quickly when they "repealed" Circular 10/65 by issuing Circular 10/70, dated 30 June 1970. It said that the new government's aim was:

> "to ensure that all pupils shall have full opportunities for secondary education suitable to their needs and abilities. The government, however, believe that it is wrong to impose a uniform pattern of secondary organisation on local education authorities by legislation or other means. Circular 10/65 is accordingly withdrawn ... The Secretary of State will expect educational considerations in general, local needs and wishes in particular and the wise use of resources to be the main principles determining the local pattern".

Supporters of comprehensive reorganisation labelled this move reactionary. The Barnstaple Grammar School Parent/Teachers' Association thought they saw a new hope, and registered their objections to the approved plan with the new Secretary of State. But late in September 1970 they were informed that the plans for reorganisation in the Barnstaple area had been settled and could not be revoked.

The decision of the new Conservative government, many of whose supporters deplored rapid movement towards reorganisation of secondary education along comprehensive lines, was not surprising. To be sure, much of the initiative to "go comprehensive" had come from Labour-controlled local education authorities and from left-of-centre sociologists and persons in the public eye. But it would be quite wrong to assume that reorganisation proposals are the monopoly of particular parties; many comprehensive schemes have been initiated and approved by Conservative-controlled councils. In every authority the schemes take account of local conditions and the needs of the children in that area.

In using the tactics it did the Devon Authority could rely on a measure of public support both locally and nationally. The chief opponents of the plan, as everywhere, were the supporters of a well-established and respected grammar school. In the Barnstaple area the opposition of these supporters created a furore. But indicated they were outmanoeuvred.

IMPLEMENTING THE PLAN

So far an attempt has been made to describe the main features of the Barnstaple reorganisation scheme, to see its significance against a background of educational practices and values, to note the obstacles in its path, and to portray the management style of the Devon Education Authority on many fronts. Because of the timing of the case study, it has been impossible to analyse the way in which the Authority managed the innovation, once the policies on which it was based had been formally accepted. The success achieved by Devon in facing the problems of implementation will ultimately be a measure of its ability to manage innovation.

These problems centre round how comprehensive education for the 16 to 18 plus age group will be interpreted in practice. It would be relatively simple for the sixth-formers to be included in the stream of educational activities offered at the North Devon Technical College by being given the usual range of A level options from which to choose. Little disruption would result, and such a course of action would be along the line of least resistance. But such action would violate the main principle of the scheme on the grounds of expediency. The real intentions of the "seamless cloak" ideal would be denied.

To be true to this principle and to be successful in the management of it in practice implies that the Authority must reform or radically revise the curriculum of the North Devon Technical College and sixth form and in so doing provide the fullest possible range of options for the age group. The task is far from easy and awareness of the difficulties involved and of its critical importance is clearly apparent in Devonshire.

Some of the practical difficulties will be appreciated when it is remembered that the schools and staff involved are from their experience, and perhaps inclination, accustomed to thinking primarily about the educational needs of a selected group within the entire range of students with differing educational needs and desires. The traditional dual system of education represented by grammar and secondary modern schools did not call on teachers seriously to think about the educational needs of a whole age group i.e. about comprehensive education. Such thought was alien to most teachers in the English system and they had little practical experience on which to lean for help.

Again, there is a natural antagonism between the staffs of secondary modern schools and grammar schools because the view is widely held that the latter are superior on the grounds of background and training and that the schools in which they teach receive the most able students. Furthermore there persists a tradition that the head of a school should be autonomous as far as the curriculum goes and indeed in most other matters. Similarly, there is a tradition that education officers of the local education authority should not busy themselves with curriculum matters. Their functions are administrative. Advisers tend to concern themselves with methods of teaching and the content of a particular subject. In particular to make the Barnstaple reorganisation plan work well it will be necessary to merge effectively and efficiently the thinking of the local "school" and "further education" groups who must work together to draw up curriculum plans for a comprehensive school/college for the 16 to 18 plus age group.

A variety of factors in the Devon situation suggests that a leader is needed if these problems are to be solved. During the course of its work the Officers' Working Party engaged a planning specialist from the Management Services section of the County Council. Planning of buildings and accommodation has gone ahead, but the network for planning curriculum reform has been revised 16 times to date.

One admittedly abortive move to involve the teachers in thinking about comprehensive education was launched, but the teachers found their brief too vague, the organisation of meetings too loose, and their minds fogged by the tradition of selective education. Naturally they turned their thinking to the grievances they had suffered at the hands of the Authority.

It appears at time of writing that everyone is waiting for every one else: County Hall is verbally urging the heads to report that they are ready to undertake curriculum reform; the heads say they must first make crucial new appointments; County Hall says get on with it; the heads say they are trying but that County Hall is sitting on the paper work, and on and on. Much faith is being placed on new appointments.

REFLECTIONS ON MANAGEMENT OF THE BARNSTAPLE PLAN

While the crucial stage of implementing the Barnstaple and district reorganisation plan has, at the time of reporting, still to come, some reflections on how Devon County Council pushed through such a radical plan to the point of formal acceptance by the Secretary of State for Education and Science are in order. The proposals created a furore and the facts as related in the report cannot do full justice to the local protests which can effectively obstruct reform in England. They arise from an unwillingness on the part of many English people to break with tradition by destroying long-established institutions. To this is added strong local feelings which make it possible for objectors to muster considerable and determined local support. As noted procedures in England give local people every opportunity to object to plans which affect them. In practice, the central government is always anxious to ensure that local authorities move only on the basis of wide consultation. Yet the Devon Education Authority succeeded, in a somewhat conservative area, in formulating and having adopted a plan which cut deeply into English educational traditions. How was it managed?

The first fact of importance to note is that according to many observers the time that elapsed - February to October 1969 - between the Authority's submission of its plan and the Department's acceptance of it in principle was very short. In the light of the furore created by the scheme what accounts for this reportedly faster than normal progress of the plan through the Department of Education and Science?

In part the answer lies in the good working relationships which Devon is reported to have built up with the Department over a period of years. The Authority has the reputation of always honestly trying to do what it promises. It also has a reputation as an innovator, and for being willing to consult the Department of Education and Science before things have gone too far.

In part, also, the easy passage had something to do with the reported desire of the Department in London to assist reorganisation experiments. Another factor might be that when the Department sent the proposal out to experts for comment it was given considerable support. Indeed some of the comments are reported to have been powerfully persuasive in its favour.

In part, no doubt, the easy passage can be attributed to fortunate timing because the Department in London was reported to have recently "gone over much of the same thinking that led to the scheme and had about reached the same conclusions".

And again in part, acceptance of the plan was due to mismanagement by the opposition, who possessed both arguments and the necessary potential power to defeat it. Similar opposition groups in other parts of the country have had more success - or at least held out for longer.

Chapter III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION

The Devon Education Authority is engaged in other innovative or advanced practices. Among these, developments in pre-school education has been singled out for attention. By so doing another view can be obtained of policies adopted in Devon to manage educational changes successfully. After describing how this particular pre-school movement was initiated and developed an attempt will be made to isolate the factors related to the ability of the Authority to change an educational programme and run the innovation satisfactorily.

Pre-school developments in Devon have, as in the case of the Barnstaple reorganisation, attracted national attention. The national quality daily newspaper, The Guardian, reported on 3 November 1970 that "Devon, in spite of a scattered population and some disadvantages, is setting the pace in providing for pre-school education".

This achievement should be viewed against a relative failure in the country as a whole to develop nursery schools in spite of considerable public demand. Usually those which have been established by public authorities are in the disadvantaged parts of the big cities. Private nursery schools and play-groups flourish and meet the needs of middle class parents. While not all educationists agree on the desirability of nursery education for very young children there is no doubt that there has been in England an unsatisfied demand for it for many years.

A second point of some consequence is that in English local authorities, several departments may be involved in the care of children. One such department is the Health Department under a Medical Officer of Health and his staff. Not infrequently it is difficult to bring different departments together so that they collaborate successfully in a specific enterprise.

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THE ORIGINS OF THE MOVEMENT

In the pace-setting movement for pre-school education three principal "actors" share the spotlight in Devon: the Pre-School Playgroups Association, the Devon Health Authority, and the Devon Education Authority. What is unique about the achievement is the way in which these three units have managed to work together.

The Pre-School Playgroups Association has its origins in the early sixties in the lack of nursery schools and classes. Few exist because of lack of financial support from the government and waiting lists are hopelessly long. Concerned and frustrated over this, a mother of a pre-school child wrote a letter to a newspaper, inviting other mothers with similar concerns to correspond with her. Soon an association was formed and a campaign launched. It had two objectives. It proposed to collect signatures for a petition to the Department of Education and Science to persuade it to withdraw a circular issued in 1960 (Circular 8/60) which forbade local authorities to spend money on the expansion of nursery schools (unless in so doing they could release teachers). The second objective of the Association was to encourage mothers to take matters into their own hands and start their own schools.

In order, legally, to establish a pre-school playgroup it is necessary to find a building which meets specified health standards. The Medical Officer of Health is responsible for inspecting facilities and issuing the necessary certificate. In the mid-sixties a woman doctor in the Health Department took over the task of inspecting pre-school facilities and issuing the necessary certificates. She was herself the mother of young children and had a personal interest in the education of pre-school children. During the course of visiting some 30 pre-school playgroups it became apparent to her that the leaders of these groups were working in isolation and, as they admitted, with very limited knowledge of how pre-school children should be treated.

Urged by a few playgroup leaders and on the basis of her own convictions she reached an agreement to hold a meeting under the auspices of the County's Health Department. The meeting was to bring together playgroup leaders and teachers in order that they might share their experiences of playgroup work and learn from one another.

As a result of this agreement the Medical Officer of Health made informal contact with an officer in the Education Department who agreed to help. In consenting, the education Adviser was going beyond the limit of her responsibilities in that the Education Authority had no jurisdiction over or right of entry into pre-school playgroup premises. Her contribution was totally voluntary and was in the form of "off-the-job" work. Nevertheless, the Education Authority has a real interest in the whole process of education and the voluntary participation in playgroup activities by one of his staff received the support of the Chief Education Officer.

This meeting - planned jointly by the member of the Medical Officer of Health's staff and the Education Department staff member, had a higher than expected attendance, and somewhat unexpected results. The playgroup leaders who attended urged the Authority to offer more detailed help on the education and health of pre-school children. The group planned a series of meetings in various parts of Devon, and during them it became clear that the demand for help with pre-school education was greater than could be met by an informal service. So staff members from the Education and Health Departments turned to the University of Exeter for help.

The University responded by agreeing to provide training courses for pre-school playgroup leaders, and university staff with the Authority staff planned and initiated a series of courses. But while this programme was taking shape, the governing body of the University disbanded it.

Convinced that help must be given to the playgroup leaders, the two officers then made arrangements for the various county centres of Further Education to arrange courses, planned by themselves and some of the playgroup leaders.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRE-SCHOOL SERVICE

These courses for playgroup leaders have prospered. A basic course and many supplementary courses are run at further education centres. Some of the leaders are trained and experienced primary school teachers, but even they regard the courses as popular and useful. On average, playgroup leaders have 40 hours of training. Moreover since 1968 it has been mandatory for all playgroup leaders in Devon to be either trained teachers or to have undertaken the basic course before opening a playgroup. This move was made by the Health Department with the support of the Education Department and the Devon Pre-School Playgroups Association.

In addition to help with training, the Education and Health authorities have developed a so-called "helping hierarchy". On the education side this consists of the heads of primary schools who have been instructed by the Chief Education Officer to form close links with playgroups, to consult with them on educational matters, to share with them some school events, and to give general help to those who are starting and running playgroups. There is also a group of ten carefully selected teachers who devote about one-fifth of their time to consultation with playgroup leaders in their geographical area.

In addition, two playgroup leaders have been employed both to stimulate the development of pre-school education and to help new playgroups to find their way through the many initial difficulties. They have been financed from a variety of sources including the County Council and the Education Authority via splendidly ingenious interpretation of powers under the 1938 Physical Training and Recreation Act.

The Health Authority have developed similar forms of help for the movement in their field of interest.

Here again, it must be emphasised that the help given to the pre-school playgroups movement by the Education Authority is based strictly on voluntary co-operation by officers of the Authority, who have no right of entry or jurisdiction over playgroups: the same is not true of the officers of the Department of Health.

As a further aid, attractive informative pamphlets on setting up playgroups have been published, and two high quality films about playgroups and pre-school education in general have been made.

Given the co-operation between the Health and Education Departments and the Devon Pre-School Playgroups Association, the number of registered playgroups in the county has risen from about 30 in 1966 to over 150 in 1970.

At present, however, the scope of playgroup activities is in potential jeopardy because control of playgroups is being transferred within the local authority from the Health Department to the Social Services Department. What impact this will have on the co-operation which has been built up between the Authority's departments and the Pre-School Playgroups Association remains to be seen.

Chapter IV

LESSONS TO BE LEARNED FROM DEVON'S MANAGEMENT OF CHANGE IN EDUCATION

Following the description of the Devon authority's strategy and tactics in introducing and developing two educational innovations, this concluding section suggests some of the important elements in its success.

First, some general lessons can be learned from the manner in which the Devon Local Education Authority has established sound working relationships both within its offices and with the influential organisations outside which it has to work.

The pre-school movement in the county illustrates how effectively officers within the Education Department have learned to establish effective working relationships with other branches of the County Council. They have learned how to co-operate with and use the services of management planning specialists in the logistics of reorganising secondary education. Particularly noteworthy has been the development of co-operation between the Education Department and the Health Department. Such collaboration between departments in a local authority may not be rare, but the existence of it is clearly of great significance when evaluating reasons for the success of innovations which cut across the spheres of influence of more than one department.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

Permanent officials in the Department of Education and Science advise the Minister who as a member of the cabinet is responsible for government policy in the field of education. The statutory power of the Minister is limited by legislation but the 1944 Education Act gives a great deal of room for manoeuvre on the part of the central authorities and local government. Much can be achieved by a local authority if it establishes good relationships with the centre.

A notable factor in the success of Devon is the relationship it has built up with the Department of Education and Science. The negotiations leading to the Minister's approval of the Barnstaple scheme is but one example of the ways in which a positive image has been developed by the Authority in the eyes of officials in the Department. This image has doubtless been enhanced by the Authority's practice of involving local representatives of the Ministry, namely HM Inspectors, in discussions about the educational innovations it intends to make.

THE USE OF THE MASS MEDIA

A notable factor in Devon's success is the relationships established by the local education authority with the mass media. Both the Barnstaple reorganisation scheme and the preschool playgroup activities received considerable publicity. This portrayed the Devon Education Authority in a very positive light. The press has applauded it for its innovations. This favourable coverage of activities did not happen simply by chance.

The Devon Education Authority consciously sought to cultivate good relations with the mass media. Over the years officers of the authority have called the attention of the press to events in Devon and have issued press releases which because of their style and newsworthiness have been readily accepted and used. Efforts have also been made to establish and maintain personal contact with the educational correspondents of the mass media. Instead of leaving these contacts (as might well have been the case) to the Information Officer of the County Council, officials from the Education Department have sometimes preferred to handle them for themselves.

The officers of the authority have regarded good newspaper cover as serving important functions. It has helped to present Devon to educators as an attractive and interesting place in which to work. In the view of the Authority this has helped in the recruitment of good staff. It has made teachers and others in the county feel that their efforts have been recognised and appreciated. One of the few rewards at the disposal of the Authority is to bestow praise. Press coverage has helped the development of a sense of pride in the accomplishments of the Authority and its employees. And again the officers feel that publicity has helped people working in the system to overcome a sense of inadequacy when faced with the challenge of educational change.

Officers of the authority have worked diligently to ensure that every notable educational development has been placed before professional colleagues in the form of articles published in professional educational journals. By the same token the Authority has made sure that its staff members and employees have been kept fully informed. One education officer defines his job, in part, as searching for interesting educational developments wherever they can be found in print and circulating such information to appropriate employees in the authority. Thus a wide search network has been built up to retrieve from print ideas of relevance to educational change.

The press and other mass media of communication have been used very skilfully in two ways. First, maximum publicity for innovations in education in Devon has been sought. It has been directed at the public at large and also at professional colleagues throughout the country. This publicity has presented more than the bare bones of administrative action. It has offered a point of view, a coherent philosophy, if you like, in favour of reform and innovation.

These tactics have had the effect of making employees of the local education authority feel themselves part of a system which has received countrywide attention in its attempt to tackle problems which face, in one form or another, local education authorities everywhere. No doubt morale has been raised as a result.

Secondly, care has been taken to familiarise employees with what is going on elsewhere in education. This too has helped to break down some of the sense of isolation that teachers and others may in the past have experienced in this rather remote county over 200 miles from London.

It must, however, be recorded that in spite of these efforts to inform the public and employees, and to develop good working relationships with the Department of Education and Science, other departments in the County Council, and the local university, satisfactory relationships were not established with residents and teachers in Barnstaple and district during the course of the reorganisation there of secondary education. The grammar school tradition in England, as we have said, is strong, and in spite of the decline in this tradition during the nineteenth century the schools established in Devon under the 1902 Act were proud, and rightly so, of the work they had done.

Everywhere it has been supporters of the grammar school who have put up the most determined resistance to comprehensive school plans. The Barnstaple story illustrates how such opposition can be overcome, but inevitably some teachers and residents in the area may be left with feelings of resentment. This may be one of the inevitable consequences of radical innovation when it affects esteemed institutions.

THE DEVON EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Apart from the relationships an organisation develops with groups and agencies in the external environment, it thrives - regardless of whether its ambition is to change education, or to manage well and thus cut costs - only if it is able to create within itself an environment which is conducive to success. In this respect, several features of the style of management within the Devon Local Education Authority are noteworthy.

One outstanding feature of this style is the lack of a finely meshed division of labour among the officers in the Department. Considerable overlap of responsibility exists. Except for extremely routine tasks, departmental duties are not compartmentalised by being made the sole responsibility of carefully identified sub-units in the Department. Hence many tasks, and all activities associated with innovation and change, are shared by members of different sub-units within the Department. As a result diverse points of view from within the Department are brought to bear on a problem once it has been identified. The organisation of the Department, in short, is much less bureaucratic than professional in its orientation.

This relative absence of role differentiation encourages a variety of ideas to be advanced on possible solutions and proposed plans. Such ideas receive careful attention and are reviewed in many different quarters. Since they are representative of different perspectives and interests from within the Chief Education Officer's Department, plans become modified as they are discussed. At the same time many people are committed to the plan which emerges because they feel they have participated in its formulation.

With neither responsibility nor status within the Department clearly defined, there is a general looseness of leadership. In the management of educational innovations, (and this was very noticeable in the process of formulating the Barnstaple plan and its adoption), leaders emerge to meet current demands and then withdraw in favour of another person. Thus no one officer seems to have had overall responsibility for the Barnstaple Plan though there was a chairman of the Officers' Working Party, and leadership seems to pass from person to person as new features of the management process arise. This may contribute to the uneven progress of the plan but at the same time it permits a wide array of talents to be brought to bear directly on the management tasks.

This lack of bureaucratisation and style of leadership is evident in the way in which the three major sections in the Department relate to one another. One section consists of six education officers and their administrative assistants. The second section includes twenty advisers or subject matter specialists who work from County Hall in Exeter. They are in direct contact with teachers in the many schools throughout the county. Their job, as stated, is to help teachers develop sound teaching methods, introduce new and appropriate material and stimulate in-service training. The third section consists of the field workers - the head teachers and assistant teachers who are directly responsible for the running of the schools.

Each of these units has a great deal of autonomy. Heads and teachers are permitted considerable freedom to determine how a school will function and have only a loose connection with the administrative officers in County Hall. Advisers too are independent. They are not directed by the administrative officers and are free, within the broad limits, to develop their own ways of working and their own interests in providing help on methods of teaching, the use of equipment and so on within the schools. Advisers often complain that decisions are taken by the administrative section which tangentially bear on their work without them being informed of the decision. It is a characteristic of English academic life however that in any organisation the administrative side is differentiated from those concerned with instruction.

For this reason, in Devon, as elsewhere, two chains of command exist: one from the Chief Education Officer through his administrative staff - education officers and assistants; the other from him through the advisory service. In the normal course of events members of these two sections see their functions as somewhat different and have little day to day contact with each other. What brings them together is a problem or a plan to solve it which as described is passed around in order to collect ideas and points of view.

In terms of careers, there is little movement between the administrative and advisory sections. Advisers are frequently recruited from experienced practising teachers. Administrative officers usually have some, but often not much teaching experience.

In the case of Devon most appointments at the level of education officer are filled from outside the Authority. Of special interest is the fact that the last four key appointments at the officer level included men whose work experience was significantly broader than solely within education authorities. These men have worked in other education-related institutions. They bring to their jobs a different perspective from that brought by those who have only been in local authority service. Consequently they appear to bring to their duties a wider outlook and a combination of different talents from the usual.

Movement within the administrative section of the Department is not common. Promotion is not automatic and indeed seems not to be favoured as a matter of policy. However assignments at the education officer level are, on occasion, shuffled so that officers have experience of more than one kind of job. This practice is not part of a routine, nor is there any established pattern of exchanging assignments.

To broaden their horizons, advisers and officers are encouraged to "trade jobs" for a short period of a few weeks with counterparts in other local authorities in England. A few such temporary exchanges have occurred in recent years and the Authority believes the practice has been useful.

Salary scales are fixed and there is little scope for deviation from them. Financial rewards for good work, other than by promotion, cannot be used. In the Department, praise is used parsimoniously and apparently meaningfully. The main rewards, according to those involved in advanced practices and innovations, are intrinsic and stem mainly from "pride in craft" and "professional responsibility".

SOME FINAL REFLECTIONS

Against this somewhat superficial account of the style of management adopted by the Devonshire Local Education Authority and in particular its Education Department, an attempt will now be made to characterise some of the main features of the approach to change and management of it by the Authority.

Discussions of management involve such terms as "strategy", "problem solving", and "muddling through". Such terms have usually been applied to the management of business firms or military operations. It is doubtful whether they can appropriately be applied to the study of education. Certainly it would seem incorrect to say that the Devon authority consciously adopted a strategy or set out to solve a specific problem.

For example, the term "strategy" involves some fixed goal in view and a careful plan for achieving it. The goal of education is open ended. So is the goal of managing change. Since no fixed goals exist it seems unwise to speak dogmatically about a strategy. Similarly, "problem solving" as a characterisation of the management of change implies forcing a creation of the mind onto processes which are much less clear cut than they appear. How can a problem in education be recognised? If goals are open ended, vague and undefined, how is it possible to be certain that a problem exists and what it is? Or stated the other way round, when goals are open ended everything becomes a problem.

For the purposes of analysis it may be legitimate to intellectualise a situation and identify a "problem", but this is a creation of the observer's mind. Problems express the visions and/or aspirations of those who choose to see in any situation a problem.

It is possible to view the Barnstaple reorganisation scheme as problem solving. Indeed the reorganisation of secondary education along comprehensive lines was seen as a solution to problems that had been plaguing the Labour Party and others for a long time. Circular 10/65 suggested six possible practical solutions in the form of reorganisation, any of which could have been adopted and given shape by local education authorities throughout England and Wales. The Devon local education authority went much further with its "seamless cloak" policy. It offered as a solution to one problem a novel scheme to solve the unidentified general problem of what should be done in education for the 16 to 19 age group.

On the other hand, taking the pre-school education example the Authority went out of its way to "solve a problem" as seen and raised by parents. Alerted to it, officers from the Health Department and the Education Department of the local authority recognised it too and looked for a solution by developing pre-school playgroups. While muddling through may seem the most appropriate term to describe the management of change in Devon, the foregoing account of the tactics used in each of the examples of innovation suggests that flexibility and lack of dogmatism would be a more illuminating way of describing its style of management.

CONCLUSION

As a method of analysis, the use of a simile is full of hazards; nevertheless, the management of change in the Devon Education Authority seems somehow illuminated when compared to the game of rugby, or at least one alien's view of rugby. Rugby is a continuous game, time is not taken out to get organised and to plan precise steps. In Devon the management of change is a continuous process, time is not taken out to plan next steps and time is not taken out of routine functions to care for the innovative process. In rugby, many people handle the ball and in a more or less random order, the game is inventive in this way. Likewise, leadership in innovative tasks in Devon gets passed around in a rather random, inventive way; and, as in rugby, some people are surprised to find that they have the ball, the ball gets dropped often, but always someone is willing to pick it up, and not everyone always knows who has the ball or where he is intending to go with it. Rugby does not have the precise division of labour that is present in American Football, nor are functions compartmentalised as completely, and in this respect also the management of change in Devon is like rugby.

Part Three

WETZLAR, HESSE, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

by

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1971

SUMMARY

Because of the "economic miracle" that followed the last war, the Federal Republic of Germany was slower than other European countries in realising the need for radical reform of its education system. The traditional system was a rigorously selective one, quite unfitted to the needs of a modern industrial state.

When this realisation dawned, first on educationists and later on politicians, they began to see the problems of implementing reform rapidly in a system so centralised.

This study describes the traditional structure of the system, the moves that led up to reform, and the practical task of introducing two specific reforms - the "orientation stage" to replace once-for-all selection at 10, and comprehensive schooling to replace the tri-partite system.

The West German Länder are largely autonomous: the study describes the slow process of reform in one of them - Hesse. Within the Länder, the Districts also have considerable power over the school system, and the study describes in detail the network of relationships between planners, politicians, teachers and inspectors concerned with reform in one district of Hesse-Wetzlar.

Readers from other European countries, and particularly from Scandinavia - will be struck by the absolute faith shown in the concept of the comprehensive school as the "ultimate goal" for school reform. The study indicates that the path of reform is long and sluggish in West Germany. It also shows that ultimately an enormous work-load falls on teachers who serve on planning groups and working parties.

It is not so much a study of an innovative region as of the effect on a region of a country's moves towards reform, and as such provides a fascinating contrast to the studies of those regions which have introduced particular innovations on a large scale, and to the regions which have gone further and adopted an innovative approach on all fronts in the education system.

CONTENTS

Summary 157

Chapter 1

BACKGROUND TO REFORM

The traditional West German system 159
Structure of administration 161
Teachers and parents 164
The beginnings of reform 164

Chapter II

THE REFORMS

The orientation stage 171
The comprehensive school 171
Teaching organisation in comprehensive schools 173

Chapter III

IMPLEMENTING REFORM AT LAND LEVEL IN HESSE

The "Overall Plan" for Hesse 175
Practical planning for innovation 175
Draft legislation 176
The new school Acts 179
Developing the orientation stage in Hesse 183
How the orientation stage works in Hesse 184
Developing comprehensive schools in Hesse 185
Comprehensive school planning in Hesse 185

Chapter IV

REFORM AT DISTRICT LEVEL IN WETZLAR

The District of Wetzlar 189
The first school organisation plan in Wetzlar 192
Preparations for introducing the orientation stage and secondary stage I 192
Introduction of the orientation stage in Wetzlar 193
Introduction of secondary stage I in Wetzlar 194
Local planning committees and working parties for reform in Wetzlar 195
Measures to introduce secondary stage I 197

Chapter V

COMMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS 205

Appendices

Appendix 1 SOURCES AND METHOD OF INVESTIGATION 207
Appendix 2 LITERATURE ON THE ORIENTATION STAGE 209
Appendix 3 LITERATURE ON COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS 211

Chapter I

BACKGROUND TO REFORM

THE TRADITIONAL WEST GERMAN SYSTEM

The traditional West German school system, which international comparison showed to have the most extreme social selectivity and the highest failure rate in the transition to higher education, was difficult to reconcile with modern education policy and quite unacceptable from the standpoint of the economy as a whole. It was not able to guarantee the necessary input of satisfactory recruits for professional careers and courses of further study. Efforts to lessen the adverse consequences of the rigid partitions between the separate types of secondary school in the traditional system and rule out at least some of the harmful effects of early selection did not result in a general improvement of the school system: the percentage of children receiving a diploma of secondary education (Abitur) has not risen substantially in the past 50 years.

The traditional school system consisted of four years' identical course for all pupils at a junior primary school (Grundschule), followed by a division into upper primary (Hauptschule), lower secondary (Realschule), and general secondary (Gymnasium). This was the system operating in the Land of Hesse before changes in the school administration which will be described in Chapter III.

The process of selection at the end of the junior primary school course in the traditional system means that a decision on the further education of pupils is taken when they are only 10 - and the decision is generally irreversible. Theoretically it is possible for a child to transfer from one type of secondary school to another but in practice very few pupils do.

Social factors play a prominent part in this early and final selection in the Federal Republic: when children are 10 the environment in which they grow up is still so important that the selection does little more than mirror the social position of their parents. Few children from the lower social groups reach a general secondary school (Gymnasium) - similar to English grammar school - and 50 per cent of those who do drop out before completing the course. Only 6.4 per cent of pupils in the thirteenth class of the general secondary schools in the Federal Republic in 1965 came from working class families, although manual workers accounted for 45.2 per cent of the total active male population.

"Democratization" and the "creation of equal opportunity" are the declared political aims of West German education policy. However, these only give a superficial impression of the reason for educational reforms. Interest in eliminating inequality of educational opportunity stemmed primarily from a belief that the traditional system hampered economic growth.

The interest in democratization was largely absent from educational reform projects drawn up immediately after 1945. These were within the traditional framework of organisation and curricula laid down in the nineteenth-century school constitution and retained the vertical, tripartite school system (the only exceptions were formed by certain principles embodied in the post-war Hamburg and Berlin Education Acts). Against the background of internal political consolidation in the Federal Republic and industrial expansion, more extensive educational reform seemed unnecessary and so plans and suggestions for radical changes in the traditional school system did not get off the ground. The "economic miracle" coincided with school policies designed to restore the ancien régime in education.

It was not until the end of the "period of reconstruction" with the incipient recession in the early 1960s that a review of education policy was seen to be needed. The declaration of a "catastrophic situation in education" was a direct result of the realisation that the existing education system could no longer perform the task of guaranteeing economic growth.

The previous path of restoration and minor changes in the traditional school system ceased to be feasible. To join the mainstream of international development, a reform of the West German education system was declared a prime objective.

STRUCTURE OF ADMINISTRATION

Because of the decentralisation of powers in the educational and cultural spheres, the Federal Government has no responsibility for schools and universities.

The Federal Republic of Germany is divided into Länder (states) with important statutory and administrative powers. They are responsible for school legislation and administration, so that the school system is uniform throughout each Land, but can vary from one to another. The Länder are sub-divided into smaller political and administrative units - Landkreis (Districts - Wetzlar is one - see Chapter IV) made up of groups of Gemeinden (communes and small towns). Communes and towns themselves enjoy some autonomy in administration. Some large towns do not belong to a District administration but directly to the Land (Kreisfreie Städte).

The District is both a self-administered political structure and the lowest level of state administration. Following the war, in 1945, there were structural reforms in each of the zones of occupation. The Land of Hesse, where Wetzlar is, is in the American zone. During the reform of its administration a clear distinction was drawn between these two functions of the District.

There are two main representative bodies in the District: the Council (Kreistag) and the Committee (Kreisausschuss). The Council is formed by a District election and takes final decisions on all matters adjudged to be District responsibilities. The Council elects the Committee as an administrative body chaired by a full-time established government official - the Landrat. The other members are unpaid deputies (Beigeordnete). The Committee conducts the day-to-day business of the District.

The Landrat has a dual role, reflecting the dual role of the District administration. Apart from his job as chairman of the District Committee he is also the official agent for the District of the Land government region (Hesse is divided into two such regions). So in his dual role he is subject to supervision both by the District Council and by the Land administration. This means that he can represent Land interests in dealing with the District and vice-versa, which explains the political and administrative significance of this post.

The functions and powers (i.e. the freedom of action) of the District administrations are very small compared with those of the Land and the communes; the income at their disposal derived from taxes and dues amounts to very little. The financial needs of the districts are covered primarily by Land subsidies and a levy consisting of a percentage of tax revenue from the communes. The secondary status of the District is reflected in the legal definition of its responsibilities: "Unless otherwise stipulated in law, the Districts shall assume responsibility within their boundaries for those public functions which cannot be performed by the communes belonging to the District ..."(1).

The importance of the District administration is, however, increasing as a direct consequence of the process of concentration which is now under way in public administration (as in many other sectors). As a result responsibilities and powers are increasingly being transferred to a higher level. The District has already taken over some of the commune's responsibilities. The transfer of responsibility for schools from the communes to the District itself presents a substantial increase in the powers of the District. Based on traditional divisions of territory, the District will itself soon be too small to provide the political and administrative framework for decisions involving constantly increasing financial and human resources; plans and preparations are therefore already being made - and this applies also to developments in Wetzlar - to set up larger autonomous units.

Harmonization of educational policy decisions in the various Länder is ensured in the first instance by the Länder agreements between the Minister-Presidents of the Länder which run for five or ten years. In the Federal Republic these agreements are of much the same importance as Education Acts in centralised states.

The Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder have co-operated since 1948 in the Permanent Conference of Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs to ensure co-ordination of the essential features of the educational system. The role of this Conference - which has the legal status of a voluntary working party - is to consider "matters of educational and cultural policy of supra-regional importance in order to define common positions and intentions and represent common interests". The decisions of this Conference must be unanimous and then amount to recommendations to the Länder. They do not acquire statutory force until they have been incorporated into the Länder laws or regulations.

The German Committee on Education (Deutscher Ausschuss für das Erziehungs- und Bildungswesen) was set up in 1953 as an independent advisory group consisting of representatives of public life, universities and education authorities, to develop proposals on educational structure. As its major recommendation the Committee published in 1959 a "skeleton plan for restructuring and unifying the public system of general education"(2).

On 15 April 1965 the Länder Governments and the Federal Government concluded an agreement to set up the German Education Council (Deutscher Bildungsrat) to replace the German Committee of Education(3). The Education Council was given the specific task of forecasting requirements by drafting plans to meet educational needs and preparing programmes of educational development in the light of cultural, economic and social considerations, as well as by preparing proposals on educational structures and calculating financial requirements. Its terms of reference also included the preparation of recommendations for long-term planning at the different levels of education.

So far the Education Commission(4) has issued nine recommendations including a comprehensive structural plan for education, published in 1970. It has also issued a series of reports and studies.

In addition to the administrative departments for education and cultural affairs and the consultative committees set up by them, the teachers and university specialists in educational research have a major say in matters of school reform.

The main areas in which educational research plays a part in development of the school system are as follows: reviews of the effect of changes in school policy (as requested by the school administration), follow-up studies on experiments before their introduction becomes compulsory, and the preliminary definition of principles on which changes in school policy or teaching methods should be based(5).

TEACHERS AND PARENTS

The teachers' associations(6) not only represent the interests of the profession but also influence education policy, with particular reference to policy on schools. (This function, which is additional to the normal role of such associations, is primarily reflected in the publication of reform plans and opinions on pressing problems in all spheres of education.) They also form working and discussion groups in which representatives of different subject areas and social groups meet, and initiate or finance research projects. A direct link between the teachers' associations and the authorities is established through the consultative activity of the Council of Teaching Staff which consists almost exclusively of association representatives.

Since the definition of parents' rights in the Basic Law (Grundgesetz) and the incorporation of corresponding provision in the Land constitutions, parents' associations have acquired increasing importance, as their participation in the sphere of public education is now guaranteed. In addition to the official representative bodies for parents, a number of voluntary parents' associations have been formed which correspond to the teachers' associations in their division according to different types of school and religion.

In addition - as the political importance of the education system was seen - organisations and associations which are primarily active in non-educational fields, i.e. political parties, churches, trade unions, economic and professional organisations, began to influence school policy.

THE BEGINNINGS OF REFORM

After the first agreement between the Länder in 1955, known as the "Düsseldorf Agreement", had merely confirmed the status quo in school policy, the "Skeleton Plan" of the German Committee was the first cautious attempt to define a new direction.

The basic tripartite structure of the school system was maintained - although the Committee repeatedly drew attention to the fact that the "school system has not kept up with the revolutionary changes undergone by the State and society in recent years". The report therefore failed to indicate the reforms necessary to change the structure of the school system. It is significant, however, that it still led to heated argument between critics and supporters. The Committee did break away from traditional concepts with its recommendation that there should be "orientation stages"(7) to replace selection at a particular point in a pupil's school career with a period of assistance, guidance and observation. This recommendation contained muted proposals for educational reform and in this respect the Committee took a revolutionary step forward. The fact that the orientation stage still came in for vigorous criticism was certainly not due to its radical nature but to the lack of expert information to support it. The Committee was probably bound to arouse criticism because its skeleton plan did not have a solid foundation in educational theory and so the orientation stage could not be considered against the background of any convincing overall concept. The Committee also cast doubts on the validity of the orientation stage by failing to introduce it at the very point where it should have been most necessary, i.e. in the decision of pupils to attend a classical *Gymnasium*. By allowing pupils to move straight to the classical *Gymnasium* from a junior primary school the Committee devalued its own arguments for the orientation stage.

The illogical attitude of the Committee resulted from the fact that it took upon itself the role of neutralising the conflicting interests which result from "cultural federalism". The German Committee was set up primarily to act as an intermediary in educational and cultural policy and was given the secondary role of evaluating reform projects - this is the only way of explaining its composition. At all events this concept of *Realpolitik* based on a reconciliation of conflicting interests ruled out any possibility of real reform.

Similarly, the political parties began by giving minor alterations to the existing school system priority over effective demands for reform. They too were prejudiced in favour of a "policy based on immediately attainable goals". In spite of their declared modernity and concern for the problems of the future (the themes of educational and cultural policy congresses of the CDU/CSU in 1962 and 1964 were "Education and work in modern society" and "Education in the modern world"; the S.P.D. party executive published working documents on education in 1969 under the title "Mastery of the Future") the parties drew up no major proposals for reforms and adhered specifically to the old tripartite system.

Further initiatives were taken by the "Working Party of German Teachers' Associations" (AGDL). In its "Bremen Plan" of 1960 and "Wiesbaden Decisions" of 1962, it cautiously indicated the need to eliminate the rigid tripartite system and make possible a "dynamic development of the school system".

With this aim in mind, the Bremen Plan suggested that schools should provide three distinct types of course after the orientation stage; these courses should be combined under a single roof. The Wiesbaden Decisions defined these suggestions in more precise terms. The organisational association of different types of school made for more ambitious school planning on the basis of all-embracing educational considerations. Both the AGDL plans had at least the merit of suggesting a kind of school which has today been implemented or is at the planning stage, i.e. the "additive" comprehensive school.

Two years later the SPD embodied similar proposals in its "educational policy guidelines" which were published by the party executive in July 1964.

Most important of all, some localities went ahead with concrete experiments and models which already went far beyond the official agreements on matters of principle and detail.

The problems of economic prosperity in the Federal Republic forced the authorities to study the development of the school system in other European countries and resulted in a change of attitudes which slowly led towards the comprehensive school concept.

The "Berlin Declaration" issued by the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs at their 100th plenary session in March 1964 drew attention to similar trends in school policy in other European countries, i.e. measures to make it easier for pupils to transfer from one type of course to another and the creation of new types of secondary school. The Berlin Declaration not only made reference to the introduction of orientation stages but also to school experiments about which a full exchange of experience was called for. The main objective was to develop new aims in common with all the responsible authorities and "recognise more fully than in the past that, in matters of expenditure, education and cultural policy must be given the same priority as defence or welfare".

Increasing consideration has been given to the economic aspects of education policy. At the 102nd Plenary Session of the Ministers in June 1964, attention was focused once again on the subject of educational planning. The Ministers agreed on the need for comprehensive educational planning. In this connection they felt that the performance of existing educational establishments should be examined and an attempt made to forecast the future requirement for further educational establishments.

Unsatisfactory experience with the workings of the German Committee led to a study of means of obtaining advice which would be more effective politically. This resulted in the decision of the ministers to create the Educational Council with the task of planning requirements.

Another important step in the development of education policy since 1964 was the re-drafting of the agreement between the Länder. This new agreement was signed in Hamburg in October 1964 by the Ministers-President (Hamburg Agreement). Their meeting had been preceded by preparatory sessions of the Conference of Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs.

The revised version of the Länder agreement made allowance for some of the new educational trends of recent years, but it lagged far behind the development of educational discussions and practical experience gained in school experiments. The main problem of school development remained unsolved. The "orientation stage" had been merely introduced as a voluntary provision and development proceeded irregularly in the individual Länder. The possibility of embarking on experiments with comprehensive schools was extended but made conditional on a prior recommendation by the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs. The Hamburg agreement merely laid down minimum standards; it was not an agreement on fundamental reforms.

A decisive stimulus to new directions in school policy came from the unions, especially from the Education and Science Union (GEW) which is the largest organisation of teachers and educators in the Federal Republic. The assembly of delegates of the Hesse Land Association of the GEW adopted a resolution in April 1965, calling for the rational development of existing ideas on school reform within the framework of a school development plan. As the keystone of this overall plan, an immediate programme was drawn up for the systematic development of comprehensive schools and - as the first step towards this objective - for the statutory introduction of orientation stages. Similar demands were formulated by the German Federation of Trade Unions (DGB) at its Federal Congress in 1966. The individual trade unions approved these demands.

By 1967 the number of advocates of comprehensive schooling had risen substantially. Recommendations and resolutions on the establishment of integrated and differentiated comprehensive schools were published, e.g. by the German Conference of Municipal Authorities, the Federal Parents' Council and the Federal Association of German Students' Corporations; the FDP party also included a call for comprehensive schools in its programme for action of April 1967.

At this time the efforts of the German Education Council indicated the "direction in which it was moving", but had not yet issued a final recommendation on the future form of the school system(8).

Hostility was largely confined to the CDU/CSU and to the Association of German Teachers' Unions (GDL) which continued to press for rejection of a fundamental reform based on comprehensive school plans.

It therefore became necessary and possible to draw certain conclusions from the discussion of school policy, and lay down statutory provisions for a new school system which would be able to meet the requirements placed on it.

Economic and social development demanded an increase in the general level of education at all stages in the school system to meet the growing demand for skilled manpower. A fundamental structural reform was inescapable.

Practical plans to reform the educational system were based on two main assumptions: firstly that a new method was needed to regulate the transition to secondary schools and secondly that a new type of school should be introduced to break down the partitions between the three types of school in the traditional system. It was hoped that the creation of "orientation stages" and comprehensive schools would meet these requirements.

NOTES

1. See section 2 of Hesse Landkreis Order (HKO) text of 1 July 1960.

2. See recommendations and opinions of the German Committee on Education (Deutscher Ausschuss für das Erziehungs-und Bildungswesen) 1953 to 1965, complete edition, Stuttgart 1966.

3. The Education Council (Bildungsrat) consists of an Education Commission and a Government Commission.

   The Education Commission has 18 members appointed by the Federal President, 14 of whom are nominated by the Conference of Ministers-President (including three on a proposal of the Higher Communal Associations) and four by the Federal Government. The Government Commission consists of the eleven Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs, four State Secretaries and the principal executives of the Städtetag, Landkreistag and Gemeindetag (these last three bodies are Conferences of the two tiers of local authorities).

4. Recommendations of the Education Commission on:
   - the shortage of teachers in mathematics and natural sciences in the grammar schools, 1967;
   - guaranteeing public expenditure on schools up to 1970, 1967;
   - the organisation of experiments with whole-day schools, 1968;
   - guaranteeing public expenditure on schools and universities up to 1975, 1968;
   - improving the training of apprentices, 1969;
   - school building, 1969;
   - a review of the terminal courses in secondary schools, 1969;
   - the organisation of experiments with comprehensive schools, 1969;
   - a structural plan for education, 1970.

5. In particular: Max-Planck Institut für Bildungsforschung, the German Institute for International Educational Research (DIIPF), Frankfurt/Main (founded in 1957; a scientific establishment of the Länder Association since 1964).

6. In particular the Working Party of German Teachers' Associations (AGDL) which is affiliated to the Education and Science Union, and the Union of German Teachers Associations (GDL), founded in 1952 as a conservative counterpart of the AGDL.

7. Recommendations of the German Committee on the Development of the Orientation Stage, 16 May 1962, German Committee, loc. cit., p. 267.

8. The Education Council did not publish opinions on this subject until 1969; see note 4.

Chapter II

THE REFORMS

THE ORIENTATION STAGE

The problem of controlling selection for different forms of secondary education was particularly urgent. Following the example of the American school system and the experience of educational reform in European countries, the orientation stage was developed as a first step toward the elimination of restrictive methods of selection.

The purpose of this special stage is to remove selection at a particular point in a pupil's career. The stage has three aims: to assist, guide and observe the aptitude of pupils. Premature selection is abolished and replaced by periods of at least two school years in which all children take an identical, intensive course to develop their ability. At the end of this common phase of secondary education, the decision on further schooling is taken jointly by the parents and school.

THE COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL

A reorganisation of the structure of the educational system on the lines of a "rolling reform" involved working towards the integrated comprehensive school. The desired goal of free access to all types of school combined with a flexible and differentiated school structure ensuring the possibility of transferring from one course to another, as well as abolition of the distinction between occupationally-related and general education, can only be achieved,it is thought,in a comprehensive school system.

Designed to foster pupils' performance democratically, the comprehensive school sets out to improve educational results by abolishing the adverse effects of social or environmental factors or at least reducing their impact by:

- improving the learning motivation of pupils;
- providing the possibility of continuously adjusting a pupil's school career to avoid the premature drop-out of socially disadvantaged pupils;
- offering a wide choice of subjects corresponding to the range of individual abilities and the requirements of society;
- ensuring social integration by fostering co-operation between all social groups.

Basically the comprehensive school concept amounts to a change in the organisational structure of education to ensure greater mobility.

The traditional West German vertical, tripartite system is replaced by horizontal divisions into successive stages. The new system begins with the primary stage, which is split into the intake stage and the junior stage, and leads through secondary stage I (corresponding to the previous classes 5-10) to secondary stage II (classes 11-13). The existing trial examination arrangements are replaced by a flexible system: at the end of secondary stage I pupils take the first school-leaving certificate (*Abitur I*) which gives access to vocational training and also to secondary stage II, leading up to the second school-leaving certificate (*Abitur II*) which entitles pupils to continue their studies in higher education institutes.

The first experiments with the comprehensive principle began in West Germany in 1954, although the final organisational form it would take had not been worked out at that stage. A survey conducted in 1967 showed that there were 20 schools combining more than one of the former types of school in the Federal Republic and Berlin. Of these about 15 were "additive" comprehensive schools, i.e. schools combining the different types of course under a single roof while allowing them to exist independently as separate organisational and educational streams with their own targets, curricula and methods within the common framework. In Berlin there were also two integrated comprehensive schools in which the different types of course were combined at least up to class eight, as well as three multilateral or transitional types of school embodying additive as well as integrated components. Eight more integrated comprehensive schools and five additive school centres were planned for 1968.

To put these figures into perspective it should be noted that 1,763 general secondary (Gymnasium) schools, 1,377 lower secondary schools and 29,282 junior primary and upper primary schools existed side by side with the new schools. The latter were therefore still at the experimental stage and the basic results of scientific control studies were not yet available.

TEACHING ORGANISATION IN COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS

To achieve the declared basic aims of the comprehensive school, i.e. equal opportunity for all pupils and social integration, instruction was to be divided into differentiated and integrated courses.

The basic teaching which is given to mixed ability groups of pupils is based on co-operative learning processes, the elimination of prejudices specific to individual social groups and the furtherance of social integration. The central subject area of basic teaching is social theory, which includes the traditional subjects of history, geography and civics. The principal form of teaching in this subject area is the project, centering on "real life situations" (in the broadest sense of the words) for which pupils must be prepared.

Learning processes must be organised flexibly to foster individual ability and aptitudes as far as possible. In the present state of development, attempts are generally made to meet this aim by teaching relatively homogeneous groups in specialised courses. Observations of comprehensive school practice and international studies do, however, show that the rigid distinction between basic teaching and specialised courses must be broken down. The principles of integration and differentiation must also be applied to the common central curriculum and to the specialised courses. (One model of differentiated teaching is already being tested in a number of comprehensive schools in Hesse).

The system is completed by optional courses and free working groups centering on pupils' special inclinations and interests. To prepare all pupils for subsequent specialisation to advanced levels, an increasing number of courses are being given in areas such as social theory, natural science, languages and general technology which cut across narrow subject areas. Special emphasis is being placed on the general technology course which will become compulsory for all pupils.

The educational system described above also allows for various measures of special assistance, in particular language development courses, remedial courses and intermediate or special training courses. With the assistance of school psychologists, a school guidance system will be set up to enable pupils to follow the school career which is best suited to their individual requirements.

The criteria for the comprehensive school system can be summarised as follows: the comprehensive school sets out to eliminate adverse social and educational conditions by a horizontal division into successive stages and a flexible and differentiated structure of tuition which allows the learning processes to be individualised, and secondly, by introducing all pupils to the basic forms of academic thought and work.

(See Appendix 4 for detailed information on the comprehensive school.)

Chapter III

IMPLEMENTING REFORM AT LAND LEVEL IN HESSE

THE "OVERALL PLAN" FOR HESSE

Because of the continuous parliamentary majority enjoyed by the Social Democrats, the Land of Hesse has pursued the process of innovation - making progressive changes to the school system - with more determination than most other Länder.

The first "Overall Plan for Hesse" was submitted in 1965. On the basis of a "policy of social responsibility", measures of educational, social and economic policy were combined and objectives and investment projects prepared for a ten-year period. At the same time attempts were made to calculate the investment necessary to implement these projects(1).

The central objectives of the plan included the development of educational institutions in general and schools in particular. Its scope indicated the central position of educational policy projects in the investment programme as a whole. The progressive development of orientation stages, the combination of existing school types into comprehensive schools - as "the best solution under certain conditions" - and experiments with new types of school were the central features of the plan for reforming the school system.

PRACTICAL PLANNING FOR INNOVATION

Practical steps to implement the objectives set out in the Overall Plan for Hesse of 1965 have been taken since 1967.

A conference in the Hesse Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs attended by heads of existing comprehensive schools, representatives of the school inspectorate and other comprehensive school experts led to the publication by the Minister in November 1967 of "Directives for setting up a working party to study financial and educational aspects of comprehensive school projects" and to the appointment of a ministerial representative with responsibility for comprehensive school problems as head of the Committee.

The ministerial representative was instructed to work out directives for planning and building comprehensive schools in co-operation with university research institutions and experts, to foster the exchange of experience and information between comprehensive schools, to coordinate further training of existing teaching staff and finally to arrange for scientific background studies on comprehensive schools, including research on curricula.

In addition detailed consideration was given to problems of the orientation stage. The official group of experts on upper primary and junior secondary schools supported the experimental orientation stages and organised courses and basic conferences to provide further training for teachers. In addition to working parties formed at district level to develop experiments with orientation stages, the conferences guaranteed a regular exchange of information between teachers participating in the experiments, leading to a continuous improvement of teaching methods.

DRAFT LEGISLATION

On the basis of this preparatory work, the "Draft Law to Amend School Legislation in the Land of Hesse" was drawn up and submitted to the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs in February 1968 for consideration.

The draft lays down the following central objectives for school policy(2):

- the statutory introduction of orientation stages ("orientation stages shall be set up when the necessary personal, material and organisational conditions are met. The Land Government shall issue regulations, in agreement with the school authorities, fixing the school inspectorate areas in which orientation stages shall be established");
- the creation of comprehensive schools "when local conditions so allow";
- the development and practical evaluation of comprehensive school models of all types up to the integrated comprehensive school, through officially approved school experiments.

The general regulations which had been prepared for traditional types of school could not be applied to integrated comprehensive schools. It was therefore necessary to issue special regulations for comprehensive school experiments. The Government was called upon to lay down legal provisions covering the special needs of comprehensive schools(3).

To the extent that the development and qualitative improvement of the school system required financial resources from the Land the rate of development was determined by the objectives laid down in the Overall Plan for Hesse and in budgets. In other respects the initiative was left to the school authorities which were responsible for creating the necessary background conditions and for further development of the orientation stage, as well as for the preparation of new comprehensive school projects. Legal provision is made in the draft law for a range of possibilities, from measures which will become statutory as soon as the Bill enters into force to the simple declaration of objectives.

In another significant amendment, the draft law provides that responsibility for junior primary, upper primary and lower secondary schools should be transferred from the communes to the Districts. This amendment seemed necessary in view of the process of concentration in the school system, to guarantee a rational school organisation and make maintenance of the new schools financially viable.

After considering the opinions of the authorities and associations interested in trends of school policy, the draft law was approved by the Cabinet on 18 June 1968, given a first reading in the Hesse Landtag on 4 July and passed in March of the following year with only minor amendments.

Conflicting views emerged in debates in the Landtag and in hearings, recommendations and petitions from the associations. In principle the concept of statutory provision for orientation stages and comprehensive schools was accepted and supported by the SPD groups which (at the instigation of progressive Land Councillors) introduced a version of the draft laws going beyond the original text. Positive support was also given by the Land Association of the DGB and by several teachers' associations, in particular by the Education and Science Union. Of the principal local authority associations, the Central Committee of the Hesse Landkreistag unanimously approved the draft law.

On the other hand the communes of Hesse represented by the Association of Towns and Communes belonging to districts expressed "concern at the haste with which unsatisfactorily evaluated types of school were due to be introduced" and above all strong objections to the transfer of responsibility for schools to the Districts, which was felt to be an undesirable encroachment on the autonomous rights of the communes.

The argument that the proposed measures had not been sufficiently tried out was typical of the "middle-of-the-road" spokesmen who approved in principle the introduction of orientation stages and comprehensive school experiments. The warning against excessive haste was accompanied by reference to the risk of breaking the already threatened unity of the school system in the Federal Republic - in the churches' view - or by rejection of a "one-sided preference for school experiments" leading to the demand, repeatedly formulated by the FDP, that the special provisions for comprehensive schools laid down in the draft law should also be granted to traditional types of school in appropriate areas.

The draft law was rejected in principle by the NPD and also by the CDU which made a two-pronged attack on the "general" clause for integrated comprehensive schools - the draft law allowed integrated comprehensive schools to be established as the normal type of school - and on interference with parents' rights through the "compulsory introduction" of the orientation stage. Agreement with the CDU concept of maintaining the status quo was expressed by several teachers' associations, such as the League of Teachers and Educators in Hesse, the Association of German Lower Secondary Schoolmasters, and in particular the Hesse Association of General Secondary Schoolmasters. In support of its vote against the compulsory orientation stage, the Land Parents' Council produced a legal opinion confirming the criticism that the new provisions encroached on parents' rights to determine their children's education. The Working Party of Chambers of Industry and Commerce in Hesse also strongly opposed the proposals. The critics' central argument consisted in referring to the "destruction of a school system which had proved its value in the past" and its replacement by an "entirely untried system". The critics wanted the existing system to be maintained and developed.

THE NEW SCHOOL ACTS

An unsuccessful attempt was made to set up a working party to decide the order of priority of measures to implement the new Acts.

The School Administration Act was given effect through a series of individual regulations after consultation with the specialist working parties concerned.

Practical organisation of the local school system is the responsibility of the school authorities (i.e. the Districts and the large towns independent of District control under the new School Acts) who must follow the procedures laid down in law.

Regional target plans have been worked out to ensure continuous and progressive implementation of the school reform in all parts of Hesse.

In 1970, the Land Government submitted a new overall plan for Hesse(4). School policy was once again given a key "function" in the development of the Land, even after the formation of a coalition government with the FDP.

Funds for schools tops the budget allocated for educational and cultural policy projects in the Land. More than half the funds set aside for schools and almost 50 per cent of the total expenditure will be made available for implementing the new policy programmes and for quantitative improvement of the schools, and 35 per cent of the total expenditure on schools will be provided by the communes and commune associations, but the main burden will be met by the districts under the revised version of the school administration act.

The progressive introduction of a compulsory orientation stage and plans for comprehensive schools are the main factor in determining the content of individual projects. One third of the 380 or so comprehensive schools in secondary stage I are in large towns independent of District control; the remainder are in Districts.

Under the "Hessen '80" Land plans, the "overall planning" division set up early in 1970 in the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs prepared a school development plan(5) for the next 15 years, which describes the move from the present situation to the desired new structure. It sets out basic guidelines for decisions on structural changes, finance and staff matters.

In order to ease the development of comprehensive schools in the regions, the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs issued a regulation on the creation of local educational planning groups(6) to work out targets for further comprehensive schools, to ensure unified teaching arrangements and an adequate internal structure for future comprehensive schools, and to advise the school authorities on building programmes.

In addition, comprehensive school projects are being prepared intensively for working parties in the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs. The regulation superseding the "Guidelines on the Development of Comprehensive Schools" provided for the setting up of a Comprehensive School Planning Office on 1 November 1969; its initial staff of two has now risen to five. This planning group coordinates administrative preparations and planning of teaching for comprehensive school projects. The Department considers that planning work should not interfere with the activities of individual schools but merely support the latter and initiate further work.

At about the time when the orientation stage became compulsory, the "comprehensive school" planning group set up a number of specialist working parties (consisting of qualified teachers in comprehensive schools and representatives of research institutes) which first studied general matters not associated with individual subjects, e.g. organisation, testing, test psychology. These are now working in specific areas on the preparation of provisional curricula for the seventh to tenth year in the comprehensive schools which will supersede the old education plans of 1957. The draft syllabuses already prepared have been circulated to individual schools and are intended for use in the transitional period(7). The chairmen or senior members of the working parties also belong ex officio to the Central Commission on Curricula(8).

This Commission consists of teachers from the different types and levels of school, school inspectors, headmasters and research experts. An office has been set up at the Science of Education Faculty of Marburg University to organise the work and coordinate the different groups. The Commission was given the task of preparing a comprehensive reform of the curriculum, taking into account the present level of research, and drawing up short-term plans or partial plans of practical value to the schools.

From the outset a large number of teachers participated in the work of developing the new curriculum. In addition to preparing the means of achieving teaching objectives, they also studied the results of curriculum research in order to plan their part in putting into practice the new plans on a large scale. This dual function retarded the development of the new plans but appeared necessary because experience had shown that the mere implementation of new educational plans through administrative regulations does not lead to the desired success. That is why an "open method" of curriculum innovation involving the teachers was chosen.

The first task which the syllabus commission set itself was to develop ways of defining and formulating teaching objectives.

A summary of the activities of the curriculum commission (from the work of the preparatory commission in the autumn of 1968 to work on the first projects for individual schools) shows that this development was characterised by a change in the way in which the participating groups interpreted their terms of reference. The original terms of reference included a fairly tight target date: the syllabus structured according to teaching objectives (for secondary stage I) was to be completed by the autumn of 1970. It was intended to coordinate the traditional types of school and hold good for the integrated comprehensive schools. Forward plans prepared by the Commission in April 1970 showed that the original deadline would have to be postponed by two years because, according to its work schedule, the subgroup of the Commission which was not concerned with individual subject areas would take until then to solve the problem of fixing teaching objectives. This also meant that special subject-related work would have to be delayed.

This change in the Commission's concept of its terms of reference, i.e. the decision to work on a medium-term basis against a long-term background,brought the problem of innovation linked with curriculum revision into the foreground. How would it be possible to integrate practising teachers and arrangements for teacher training and advanced training into the curriculum development at the earliest possible date? In the context of these problems arrangements were devised to give teachers a methodical basis for determining teaching objectives and to introduce them to the concept of teaching oriented towards specific objectives. Feedback from the teachers participating in experiments is a decisive factor in determining further revisions.

In addition to these medium- to long-term organisational activities, individual project groups of experts began, in parallel with the work of the main Curriculum Commission, to prepare new stage-related syllabuses as provisional skeleton guidelines. The urgent demand of the schools for the revision of the old syllabuses led to this return to "traditional" methods of syllabus development.

In order to meet the special problems of comprehensive schools, the relevant department in the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs had developed an advisory system about a year before. Each of the groups of experts makes one of its members available for each individual subject to help with the preparation of future comprehensive schools and to attempt to solve problems in schools which are already functioning.

In addition, courses were set up in advanced teacher training colleges as well as training courses in the schools themselves to improve the flow of information and foster a spirit of innovation in participating teachers. The efficiency of these bodies can, however, no longer be guaranteed with the impending expansion of the comprehensive school projects. The possibility is therefore being considered now of relieving several members of the group of experts of all their teaching role so that they can be more effective in their innovative role.

To observe the integrated comprehensive school experiments directly, make regular assessments of recorded results, and thus ensure systematic practice-oriented guidance and follow-up studies, the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs set up an "Evaluation Project Group" at the instigation of the comprehensive school department. This group, whose functions are initially confined to education in comprehensive schools, collates information e.g. on the efficiency of school organisation, criteria used for selection, teaching methods and their effectiveness, the use of media and other teaching aids. The information will be used by research workers, institutes and groups of experts responsible for the development of comprehensive schools in Hesse.

Research results will also be fed back quickly in the other direction through the groups to individual schools in order to ensure close formal communication between all the groups participating in the development of comprehensive schools, i.e. teachers, research workers, groups of experts and the authorities.

The project group which is attached to the Comprehensive School Department in the Ministry consists of five university-trained teachers with experience of comprehensive school work.

DEVELOPING THE ORIENTATION STAGE IN HESSE

In Hesse the first experiment with an orientation stage began in 1955. By 1969 an increasing number of these stages had been introduced as experiments based on a decision taken by the school authorities with the parents' approval. (In 1962 there were 12 orientation courses; in the 1966/67 school year 60 experiments were already under way with a total of 452 classes. The creation of 25 more orientation courses was approved for 1968. In the following school year 22 per cent of the pupils in the fifth and sixth year of all schools giving general education in Hesse were attending an orientation course.)

A carefully planned enquiry(9) has proved that these experiments have helped to increase the number of pupils entering secondary schools. On average the number of pupils making this transition has risen by 12 per cent. In the case of the general secondary schools (Gymnasien), however, there has only been a two per cent rise. The number of decisions which had to be reversed has dropped significantly. The enquiry therefore proved that the orientation stage met two of its three aims, i.e. observation and guidance. The third aim of giving individual assistance to pupils with less than average performance has not been achieved to the extent anticipated. The transition figures for the children of all professional groups have risen, but the increase has been most marked among middle-class children. This was primarily due to the fact that the orientation stage still led into the traditional school system and was therefore tied to the requirements and methods of the existing types of school.

The increase in the number of experiments with orientation courses and the results of the enquiry mentioned above led to a decision by the Government of the Land of Hesse to introduce the orientation stage in "all cases where the necessary personal, material and organisational requirements are met"(10).

Under the reformed law on school administration the orientation stage which had hitherto only been an experiment became the normal arrangement for fifth and sixth year classes and part of district practice. In Wetzlar, the fifth year class in all types of school was replaced by the introduction of the compulsory orientation stage for the 1969/70 school year.

In the 1970/71 school year 44,000 pupils are attending orientation courses.

HOW THE ORIENTATION STAGE WORKS IN HESSE

Teachers from all types of school give tuition at orientation stages. They co-operate on all educational and organisational matters, hold joint conferences and advise parents.

Teaching in all subjects is sometimes given in large general classes and at other times in small groups. The orientation stage is built up around tuition in certain major subjects, i.e. German, geographical studies and natural science. Within the framework of an overall work plan drawn up by a teachers' conference, specialist teachers prepare detailed subject syllabuses. The syllabuses and teaching methods are designed for use with individuals and small and large groups.

English and mathematics are taught in streamed classes (Kurssystem). The aim is to give all pupils a solid foundation for subsequent education to university or university equivalent level.

Pupils are normally assigned to A, B or C streams; but transfers from one stream to another are possible, and special courses are provided where necessary to enable this to be done. Pupils are also given the possibility of transferring from one stream to another in "half stage".

The criteria for initial assignment to a particular stream are as follows: parents' wishes, the opinion of the junior primary school, the last school report, diagnostic aptitude tests and the results of objective observation by the teachers of a particular class during the first phase of the orientation stage.

Pupils can transfer from one stream to another if their level of attainment suggests that they can take a more difficult course or if they can no longer keep up with their present course even after special help. The final decision on assignment to a particular stream or transfer from one stream to another is taken by the subject teachers, the class teacher and the senior teacher in charge of the orientation stage; the pupils' own wishes must first be considered and advice given when necessary.

Orientation stages can only operate successfully in schools which are large enough to operate a three-stream system efficiently and economically from the staffing point of view. Also comprehensive schools can only offer an adequate range and choice of courses if the number of pupils is sufficiently large. A senior teacher is needed to coordinate teaching in the orientation stage.

DEVELOPING COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS IN HESSE

In Hesse the first comprehensive schools were closely related to existing types of school. By 1968 six comprehensive schools had been opened working initially as a continuation of the orientation stages with a streaming system. Some were later converted into integrated comprehensive schools.

Experience with the development of comprehensive schools led in Hesse to a demand for large scale experiments to test the value of fully integrated comprehensive schools as a preliminary to the general introduction of schools of this type.

Four more experiments with integrated comprehensive schools began in 1969 and eleven in the autumn of 1970. In addition seven new comprehensive schools related to existing school types were opened. The trend to set up comprehensive schools is particularly marked in the areas where orientation stages had been made compulsory.

By 1 August 1971, reorganisation will have gone so far that all pupils beginning their seventh year of schooling will enter integrated comprehensive schools in the District of Wetzlar and in two other Districts.

COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL PLANNING IN HESSE

The development of comprehensive schools takes the form of a "package" of carefully harmonized measures:

- planned experiments with integrated comprehensive schools as a stimulus to a wider introduction of this system;
- preparation of the change-over to integrated schools, especially in the Districts where orientation stages are already compulsory;
- establishment of further multilateral comprehensive schools each comprising at least one upper primary, one lower secondary and one general secondary department.

As regards school accommodation, all future schools for secondary stage I will be built according to a unified programme for flexible use at different levels of development of the educational system. A changeover will be made to "subject centres" with one large, general "information centre".

The organisational unit for the comprehensive schools will be 200 to 250 pupils in each year. The full range of options for pupils will not be offered in comprehensive schools with a smaller annual intake.

Identical organisational patterns will be developed for all types of comprehensive school: a differentiated and decentralised organisational structure designed to guarantee participation by different groups working in the school will be adopted.

A simultaneous and coordinated move will be made towards implementation of the educational aims of the comprehensive school on the widest possible front, in particular by establishing a number of experimental schools with carefully planned educational tasks. These are:

- to try out and develop new curricula;
- to provide a new basis for higher or further education for all pupils;
- to find ways of improving the education of groups which have so far been underprivileged.

In preparation for the creation of integrated comprehensive schools to serve whole areas, planned for the autumn of 1971, outline directives setting out general and common provisions for all integrated comprehensive schools are being worked out.

NOTES

1. Publications on the *Grosse Hessenplan*:
   - *Der Grosse Hessenplan* - a new path into the future, published by the Minister-Presidert of Hesse, Wiesbaden 1965.
   - *Der Grosse Hessenplan*, implementing section for the years 1968 to 1970, Wiesbaden 1968.
   - *Der Grosse Hessenplan*, evaluation of results for the years 1965 to 1967, Wiesbaden, 1968.
2. See School Administration Act (SchVG), version of 30 May 1969, sections 3,4,8,9,69.
3. SchVG, section 69.
4. *Der Grosse Hessenplan (Hessen '80)*, *Land* development plan published by the Minister-President of Hesse, Wiesbaden 1970.
5. *Der Grosse Hessenplan (Hessen '80)*, School development plan I, modern schooling for all, published by the Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs of Hesse, Wiesbaden 1970.
6. Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs of Hesse, decree of 17 March 1970.
7. So far hand-outs have been issued for the 7th and 8th class on social theory, German and mathematics. The preparation of proposals for the natural science subjects and general technology is still at an early stage.
8. On the revision of the curriculum, see in particular, *Education Policy*. Information published by the Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs of Hesse, No.2, 1970.
   - Further information on comprehensive school planning in Hesse can be obtained from Herr Frommelt and Herr Rutz, *Referat Gesamtschule im Hessischen Kultusministerium*, Wiesbaden, Luisenplatz 10.
9. *Geissler, E., R. Ph. Krensner, A. Rang, Fördern und Auslesen*, a study of schools with the orientation stage in Hesse, Frankfurt/M, 1967, second augmented edition, 1969.
10. Law on the Maintenance and Administration of publicly maintained schools and School Supervision (School Administration Act), text of 30 May 1969.

Chapter IV

REFORM AT DISTRICT LEVEL

THE DISTRICT OF WETZLAR

Wetzlar is in the centre of South West Hesse. It is on routes between the Siegen industrial zone and the conurbation around Frankfurt, and when completed both the Frankfurt-Hagen and Montabaur-Reiskirchen motorways will pass near Wetzlar. The district is close to the industrial and university town of Giessen. It is therefore an area with potential for intensive urban development. The Land development plans for the period up to 1985 schedule Wetzlar as a "medium centre with some functions of a major centre". Its population of about 154,000 is comparable to that of a medium-sized town, and industrial and commercial activity far outstrip agriculture. Of the labour force of around 70,000, only about 16 per cent work in agriculture; the vast majority are employed by 150 industrial and service enterprises. Many people who live in the eastern sector of the district work in Giessen. Problems are caused by the highly specialised nature of the industrial enterprises (in particular the large companies) in the area; the responsible administrative authorities themselves define the pattern of industry as a "monostructure".

Of the 28,000 employed in industry about 10,000 work in iron and steel and about 8,000 - two thirds of the total - in precision engineering and optical products. A further 3,000 are employed in electrical engineering.

One reason for wanting to improve the local education system is to improve qualifications of the available manpower in Wetzlar and so attract capital-intensive industrial concerns. Untapped reserves of labour are almost non-existent; further concentration of agriculture will hardly affect the situation, and the surplus of immigration over emigration (of both German and foreign workers) is dwindling.

The District has an area of approximately 600 square kilometres and 90 different communes - some with less than 10,000 inhabitants. One priority aim in reviewing the structure of the school system was to achieve greater concentration, which inevitably aroused resistance from some communes.

A number of factors suggested that there would be positive support for change in the school system: Protestants form a majority; social composition is broadly in the upper working class and lower middle class bands, with fewer in the upper or lower social groupings; and the sympathies of the electors had restored a Social Democrat majority in the decision-making bodies at every level - District, commune and Land.

Resistance to the abolition of traditional distinctions between types of school (which have created privileged groups) was only to be expected from the socially privileged minority which also tended to support conservative political parties (CCDU, NPD).

Support was also anticipated from the majority of teachers because primary, upper primary and lower secondary teachers are far more numerous than general secondary school (Gymnasium) masters.

In October 1969 there were about 20,000 children attending Wetzlar schools. In any given year about 77 per cent went from junior primary to upper primary; 10 per cent to junior secondary and 13 per cent to general secondary. Because of the reorganisation and concentration that had already occurred, there were 20 communes with separate junior primary school, 11 schools combining junior and upper primary, and 16 other schools - either upper primary or lower secondary or a combination of either junior and upper primary and lower secondary or upper primary and lower secondary. In the town of Wetzlar there were also one boys' and one girls' general secondary school, one alternative education route - the Hessenkolleg - (preparing young adults for the Abitur examination) one technical and one commercial part-time vocational school, one school for handicapped children and an in-service teacher training college.

Before the legislative changes the local communes or associations of communes were responsible for the administration of these schools and for building and maintaining them. But from 1 January 1970, the District was made responsible for all except the Hessenkolleg (for which the Land government is directly responsible).

The *Land* now provides over 50 per cent of the money for school building and conversions in accordance with certain fixed amounts. It also retains responsibility for the appointment and payment of teachers and thus controls the pupil-teacher ratio.

Ultimate responsibility for the schools inspectorate is at *Land* level. At District level inspectors (*Schulräte*) work in the District education office which comes under the President of the government region, and ultimately under the Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs (Kultusminister) of Hesse.

At District level, there are inspectors for junior primary, upper primary and lower secondary, working in the Wetzlar Education Office where there is also a school psychology department. The inspectors for general secondary and part-time vocational schools work to the Regional Office. There are also separate departments for each type of school in the Hesse Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs.

The school inspectorate covers what is taught and the arrangements for teaching it in the schools; its approval must be obtained before changes are made. If a major reform is proposed (as in the case under examination here), approval must be sought from the parents (through school and District parents' councils) and from the teachers (through their associations).

Since the *Landrat* is responsible for the legal aspects of the schools system, while the inspectors (*Schulräte*) are responsible for the educational aspects, they have to work in close co-operation and seek each others' agreement in all questions. This proved very useful when the structural reforms were introduced in the Wetzlar District.

The new school structures which have been or are being introduced at District level in Wetzlar were not developed by the District or even by the *Land* in isolation. Besides taking into account experiments and experience in other countries, many national and local institutions and organisations co-operated in the discussion and evaluation of new school structures. In what follows an attempt will be made to describe the discussions and development which led up to the final stage of adoption and the complex network of relationships and interests - favourable and unfavourable - involved.

THE FIRST SCHOOL ORGANISATION PLAN IN WETZLAR

Even before 1965 individual attempts were made in the District of Wetzlar to solve the traditional structural problems resulting from the existence of many schools in small communes by building what were known as "focal point" schools. These experiments were the work of individual communes or groups of communes which co-operated voluntarily in school authority associations.

After 1965 it was realised that the heavy expenditure on these school buildings necessitated planning and coordination - in particular in choosing the site. An overall plan - the First School Organisation Plan - was drawn up after difficult individual negotiations with the communes and communal school authority associations. In addition to the introduction of the ninth school year and the decision to start the new school year in the autumn - which was taken by the Conference of Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs - this First School Organisation Plan for the District centred on the introduction of annual curricula in all Wetzlar schools, i.e. the compulsory introduction of the "focal point" school(1). In forcing through the concept of siting schools at strategic points in the District instead of in the communes - thus bringing about the first transfer of powers from the communes as school authorities to the District - the District authorities were able not only to claim political backing from the ruling SPD party but also to exert economic pressure. *Land* subsidies (amounting, as mentioned above, to more than 50 per cent of the costs) were granted only for those building and conversion projects which formed part of the District planning and coordination structure.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ORIENTATION STAGE AND SECONDARY STAGE I

Influenced by discussions at the different federal and *Land* levels, in the teachers' associations, universities and political parties, the introduction of the first structural reform measures in the schools in the District of Wetzlar coincided with discussions on the structure and curricula of the schools of the future designed to provide greater equality of opportunity.

The concrete proposals concerning the structure of the school system made by the GEW and Hesse Teachers' Conference in 1965 were discussed - at least informally - after 1967 not only by teachers and parents in the District but also in the Education and Cultural Committees of the parties, in the Education and Cultural Committee of the Kreistag and in the school administration.

The first clear initiative came from the Land Councillor for the school system to the SPD Kreistag group. His plan provided for transfer of authority for schools to the District together with introduction of the orientation stage and secondary stage I in all Wetzlar schools.

The SPD Kreistag Group approved this plan (which was equivalent to approval by the Kreistag as a whole in view of the SPD majority) and instructed the Land Councillor to put his plans to the Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs of Hesse (HKM).

The Minister adopted a favourable attitude to the proposals.

At about the same time the District Education Office took the first organisational measure in preparation for the introduction of new school structures. Two working groups were set up to study the orientation stage and comprehensive schools. A working conference of school heads was organised in December 1967 at which an inspector from the Education Office reported on this work. He asked the school heads to pass this information on to the communal school authorities and parents' councils (which in view of the school inspector's position in relation to the school heads amounted to an order).

In February 1968 the Land Councillor himself undertook the task of bringing the model plan to the attention of its strongest opponents i.e. the Parents' Councils of the Wetzlar general secondary schools (Gymnasium). He was successful because the parents' representatives of these schools also opted in favour of introducing the orientation stage and expressed a wish to receive all the relevant information.

INTRODUCTION OF THE ORIENTATION STAGE IN WETZLAR

Early in 1968 the Land Councillor's Office and the Education Office still planned to introduce the orientation stage at District level by 1 August 1968. To keep to this timetable the necessary preliminary agreements and preparations were accelerated early in the year. In January the Education Office informed the Minister-President that after discussions with the Land Councillor there were no objections to introduction of the orientation stage on 1 August 1968.

In February the *Land* Councillor invited the mayors of all the communes involved to attend a discussion on the proposed introduction of the orientation stage. Basic agreement was then apparently reached with the school authorities on the introduction of the orientation stage and comprehensive schools; however the final decision on the siting of future comprehensive schools was held over.

After the school parents' councils had signified their approval in February, the District parents' council agreed to the introduction of the orientation stage in May but asked for a planning committee to be set up to work out organisation and educational aspects.

Because of the draft school reform Bills and the fact that organisational and educational preparations in the district itself were not sufficiently far advanced in June, the date of introduction was postponed by one year to 1 August 1969.

By March 1969 all the political bodies and the administration had reached agreement and created the necessary basic conditions; in addition the school authorities, parents and teachers had indicated their backing for the project. Between March and June 1969, i.e. while the new school administration Bill was being discussed in the Hesse Parliament, the application to introduce the orientation stage was forwarded through official channels to the Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs who finally issued a statutory order setting up orientation stages in Wetzlar in June, immediately after the new laws had been passed by the *Land* Parliament.

At the beginning of the 1969/70 school year, the fifth school class throughout the District started as an orientation stage.

INTRODUCTION OF SECONDARY STAGE I IN WETZLAR

Already, in 1968, the *Kreistag* in Wetzlar had approved a second school organisation plan, providing for the introduction of the orientation stage and (integrated) comprehensive schools.

In June 1969 the District administration - acting in accordance with the *Kreistag* programme and the directives issued by the Hesse Minister for the siting of schools - presented a detailed school organisation plan(2), laying down the school structure as well as school sites and their intake areas (see annex). With one exception this laid the basis for building and development plans as well as preparatory work on school organisation two years before the start of the comprehensive school secondary stage I.

In September 1969 the Education and Cultural Policy Committee of the *Kreistag* had considered the school organisation plan and called upon the *Kreistag* to approve it in full and submit an application to the Minister for introduction of secondary stage I at District level.

In November the *Kreistag* unanimously decided to request the Minister to accept the school organisation plan, to continue the differentiation embarked upon in the orientation stage in the subsequent secondary classes and to establish posts for teachers in charge of subjects and of the whole orientation stage as well as regional general and specialist inspectorate for all schools in the District.

In December the *Kreistag* also decided to build two new comprehensive schools, thus completing the building requirements for the comprehensive school plan.

After one year's experience of the orientation stage, and after the Minister had agreed to continue the experiment on 5 June 1970, the *Kreistag* decided on 3 July (by 41 votes to four) that the administration should submit an application to the *Land* Government for the establishment of 12 comprehensive schools in Wetzlar and ask for a special regulation to be issued in accordance with Section 69 of the School Administration Act(3).

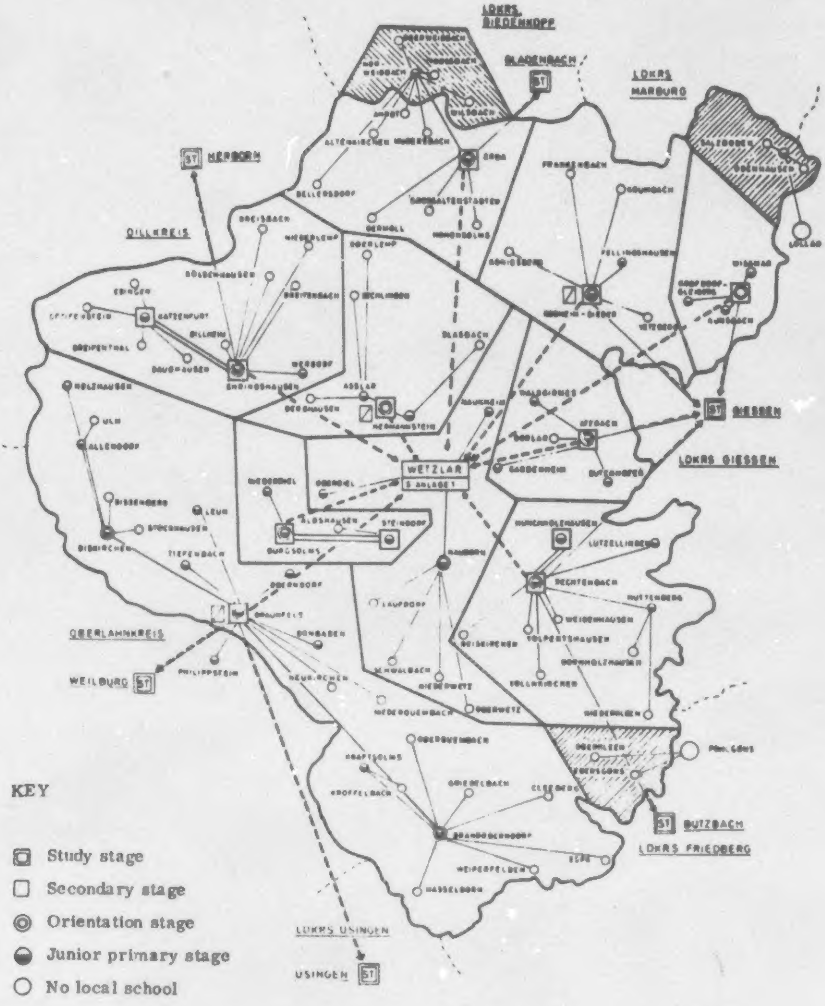
In addition the administration was to ask for a unified specialist and general inspectorate to be set up for all schools and teachers in the district and for an adequate number of teachers to be provided (including a reserve of deputy teachers) within the framework of this special regulation.

With approval from the *Kreistag* for nine more comprehensive schools in the Districts and permission for the administration to embark upon the necessary building programme as a matter of urgency, all preparations for the development of comprehensive schools which lay within the power of the District (as the school authority) were now completed.

LOCAL PLANNING COMMITTEES AND WORKING PARTIES FOR REFORM IN WETZLAR

To prepare for the introduction of the orientation stage in Wetzlar an Orientation Stage Working Party was formed at the end of 1967 under the direction of the Education Office.

PLAN FOR THE ORGANISATION OF COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS IN THE DISTRICT OF WETZLAR


LDKRS. BIEDENKOPF
GLADENBACH
ST
LDKRS MARBURG
HERBORN
DILLKREIS
WETZLAR
GIESSEN
LDKRS GIESSEN
OBERLAHNKREIS
WEILBURG
BUTZBACH
LDKRS FRIEDBERG
LDKRS USINGEN
USINGEN
KEY
Study stage
Secondary stage
Orientation stage
Junior primary stage
No local school

It was able to base its discussions and plans on wide experience from 53 schools including a total of 371 classes (established in Hesse in the 1966/67 school year), research studies on the orientation stage and documentation supplied by the Ministry.

Towards the end of 1968, teachers' working parties set up in the District began to study the organisational, educational and instructional problems associated with the introduction of the orientation stage.

A total of six working parties were formed; three were responsible for specific subjects (English, mathematics, German) and three were concerned with general problems (basic instruction, objectivity of testing, teaching and learning aids). These working parties were instructed to amend and develop the existing material and disseminate the results - in permanent contact with their practising colleagues - in the schools in which the orientation stage had already been introduced. Since the problems of curriculum and organisation had for the most part been solved, and adequate funds were available so that the remaining task was simply to organise the orientation stage on a wider scale, no special difficulties were encountered.

The preliminary studies and work on the orientation stage itself were considered successful by all those consulted, and contributed to the readiness to introduce the comprehensive school at District level.

One useful arrangement which had not been planned in advance was to keep the working parties for specific subjects (within the orientation stage) in existence so that those working in the stage could continue to discuss problems and experiences.

MEASURES TO INTRODUCE SECONDARY STAGE I

Planning and preparatory work for the introduction of the orientation stage was relatively straightforward both in the Ministry and at District level - largely because documentation and experience were already available - and it tended to develop its own momentum. At the same time initial ideas had already crystallized on the necessary organisation of the preparatory phase for reform of the secondary stage when the time came for its implementation.

In contrast to the orientation stage, experience of integrated comprehensive schools was relatively limited, adequate documentation was not yet available and the problems of the secondary stage in organisational, educational and teaching terms were more complex. The comprehensive school was to differ not only in its structure but also in its content from the traditional school system. Work on curriculum reform had not reached the stage at which solid results were available, so introduction of the model at District level at this particular time meant that the District had to make its own contribution to development of the comprehensive formula.

Under the ministerial decree of March 1970, the president of the District government must form local planning groups at least twelve months before the introduction of comprehensive schools begins. A Planning and Coordinating Committee was therefore established in Wetzlar with responsibility for all twelve planned comprehensive schools. This Committee had the powers and functions of a Council (*Kollegium*) in school experiments.

Because this was the first experiment in the introduction of comprehensive schools at district level, the Wetzlar Planning Committee was particularly important. A school inspector from the District was therefore appointed chairman and by September 1970 he had proposed the names of further members of the Committee to the *Regierungspräsident* who duly confirmed their appointment.

The first meeting of this planning Committee was held in Wetzlar on 11 September 1970 and was attended by representatives of the Ministry, the *Regierungspräsident's* Office and the District. It has the following members:

- three District school inspectors, including one as Chairman and one as Vice-Chairman;
- two senior directors of studies, representing the establishments of higher education;
- one senior director of studies, representing the vocational schools;
- one headmaster representing the junior primary schools;
- one headmaster with responsibility for training problems;
- one general secondary school master representing the *Gymnasien*;
- one headmaster, representing the GEW;

- the head of the District Education Office;
- the Chairman of the District Parents' Council;
- fifteen teachers as District subject advisors.

In the composition of the Committee, it should be noted that the school heads/school inspectors (including deputy heads) are in a dominant position with 14 representatives as against 12 teachers while the gymnasium school masters (excluding school inspectors) and teachers in vocational schools (11 members) are more strongly represented than the junior secondary (seven) and upper primary school (five) teachers.

There is therefore a bias towards senior positions in the work and decision-making process of the Committee.

At the first meeting, the Committee's programme laid down in the Ministerial decree came up for general discussion. The main problems dealt with by the Committee are school organisation, the structure of differentiation, pupil-assistance measures, performance evaluation and reports, advice on school careers as well as subject areas and timetable problems.

Since its formation, the Committee has met three times and the smaller planning committee has also held three meetings. In addition to a joint meeting with the District subject representatives and a visit to a comprehensive school - in which a specific model of differentiation has already been adopted - a further meeting was held in March 1971, linked with a visit to a comprehensive school which was under construction.

The Planning Committee has so far concerned itself primarily with current organisation problems: the use of subject teacher groups, information flow, course arrangements, guidance for parents, etc. The actual working phase was to begin in May 1971, when the Committee was due to evaluate the reports prepared by the subject teachers and prepare a coordinated syllabus for secondary stage I. Preparation for class seven which was due to begin in the preceding autumn, must then have been completed.

The smaller planning committee has visited (with the district Education and Cultural Committee) another comprehensive school in Berlin. It is however, mainly concerned with the following matters: model timetable, informing parents, school building measures, staff requirements, objective testing, organisation of subject area groups, regional school office, etc.

For the three Districts which are due to introduce integrated comprehensive schools on 1 August 1971, the Comprehensive School Department (EIV) in the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs issued an informal working paper(4) in August 1970, setting out proposed training arrangements as well as their time schedule and plan of work. This training system defines the groups which will take part in the preparations for the introduction alongside the Planning Committees:

> "1.1 *Subject Experts*: members of the subject expert groups at *Land* level who follow up the results of the comprehensive school experiments are available as advisers for individual subject areas.
>
> 1.2 *District subject representatives*: a school supervisory official with responsibility for the training system in the District appoints representatives for each subject area, advises individual schools and maintains contact with subject experts.
>
> 1.3 *Subject liaison teacher*: the individual schools each appoint one teacher for each subject area who prepares a teaching approach for that subject after consultation with the District subject representatives and in co-operation with subject specialists in his school."(5)

These representatives/groups will be formed or appointed for the following subjects (or subject areas): German, modern languages, social theory, (geography, history), civics, aesthetics, (art, music), mathematics, natural sciences, (biology, chemistry, physics), general technology, (work theory), physical training (sport) and religion. The teachers concerned were asked to attend an introductory two-day seminar conducted by representatives of the Ministry's Comprehensive School Department in September 1970. Afterwards further discussion was scheduled in conferences and courses dealing with specific subjects or problems.

According to the informal working paper, the first conferences of the District subject representatives and subject liaison teachers were to be held by mid-November 1970. The subject experts were also due to attend these conferences. The work of the subject representatives and subject liaison teachers was due to be completed by March 1971 while all the plans for the introduction of secondary stage 1 in the individual districts were to be finalised by June 1971.

The working paper defined the main task of the subject groups at District level as the "amendment of the existing hand-outs and working papers to bring them into line with the situation in the District"(6). This instruction is very difficult to comply with and represents a heavy burden on the subject teachers because of the state of the hand-outs and of discussion on the curriculum in general. The preparatory work in groups also highlights this problem.

The District subject representatives were selected by the responsible school inspector and their names submitted to the *Regierungspräsident* for approval.

Several had already appeared likely candidates in their capacity as leaders of the working parties which prepared the orientation stage.

The subject liaison teachers from individual schools were either appointed by the school head or chosen by their colleagues. The principle of voluntary participation was infringed in some cases because school heads brought informal pressure to bear in making the appointments. This may be explained in part by the short time available to the heads for choosing representatives. Reticence on the part of the teachers is not surprising in view of the burden of these additional duties.

The status of District subject representative and subject liaison teacher is (or should be) based on voluntary participation. There is no financial reward (apart from reimbursement of expenses). Teachers are relieved of some teaching duties, but only of one or two hours each week.

In extreme cases, the District subject representatives may belong to five bodies (in addition to the normal school committees): as subject representatives to the conferences of District subject representatives and of subject liaison teachers, as well as to the Planning Committee; as subject experts to the Committee of Experts and the Main Curriculum Committee; and finally as member or chairman of the working parties on the orientation stage. This means a heavy workload but is an inevitable feature of a communication network based on personal contacts.

At the time this survey was made, final working results were not available from any of the subject groups. Progress made varied widely - our evaluation is based on general impressions rather than on objectively comparable criteria. If we take as our index of the level of preparation the conferences which have already begun their work and the impression their members give of progress achieved, the relatively easy subjects of physical education and music (whose representatives have not yet met) show up worst. The greatest progress seems to have been made by the subject area groups for English, mathematics and natural science, as well as religion. It is significant that the chairmen of the groups for English and mathematics were or still are chairmen of the corresponding working parties for the orientation stage.

The other subject area groups occupy an intermediate position, but the difficulties of a newly designed subject are particularly apparent in the case of social theory and especially general technology: these groups did not begin to meet until early March. The natural science subject area group decided - contrary to the intention of forming only a few subject areas - after its second session to split up for further preparation into biology, chemistry and physics sub-groups.

The dissatisfaction of teachers working in the groups is evident: school inspectors and the Ministry agree with them that time limits are too short. This has led to a recognition that in future these groups should be formed at least two years prior to introduction of the new course. In addition to the problem of "compulsory" volunteering, the question of compensatory time off is particularly important. All teachers agree that the amount of time for which they are released from their normal duties in no way compensated for the time spent on preparatory work. While the subject liaison teachers are tending to cut down their efforts, the District subject representatives, especially those who also work in bodies at Land level believe that they should be freed from the bulk of their teaching activity to enable them to perform their planning tasks.

The lack of progress in central discussion on the curricula has had certain adverse effects. The instruction to bring existing material into line with practical requirements cannot be complied with by the teachers because the hand-outs and documentation are either inadequate or non-existent. Having regard to their own level of training, it is clearly asking too much of most teachers to expect them to evolve ideas on the content of a subject. The weaknesses shown by teachers in the working parties would probably be even more pronounced among their colleagues in the schools, so that expectations regarding the introduction of new subjects are bound to be difficult to meet.

All in all, preparations in individual subject areas have not kept up with the time schedule contained in the informal working paper, so that completion of general planning work in the Planning Committee will also be delayed.

NOTES

1. (District Administration): Organisation plan for comprehensive schools in Wetzlar District, Wetzlar, 1969, p.3.

2. loc. cit.

3. Sec. 69 of SchVG contains special provisions on comprehensive school experiments.

[illegible]. "Informal working paper. Organisation of a training system for the Landkreise Hanau, Kassel, Wetzlar", Der Hessische Kultusminister, E IV 2-1001/70-3, Wiesbaden, 1970.

5. loc. cit. p.1.

6. loc. cit. p.2.

Chapter V

CONCLUSIONS AND COMMENTS

1. The authors believe that the "current" resources offered in the training programme of the Comprehensive School Department of the Ministry are being used adequately. In addition further resources are made available as appropriate by the Planning Committee and District subject representatives. The authors did, however, gain the impression that the resources of the universities are not being fully utilised either at Land or District level.

2. Because the District school organisation - in which at least the responsible officials know each other personally - is still of a manageable size, no difficulties are experienced in ensuring information and communication within the District. Liaison with teachers and parents in the individual schools is ensured adequately by the subject liaison teachers and school heads. A final evaluation of the information available to teachers about the curriculum is not possible at the present level of preparation and will only be feasible when the secondary stage I is in action.

To sum up, liaison between the District authorities and other interested parties as well as the use of available resources can be considered good. (This opinion is shared by the ministerial department in Wiesbaden.) The authors believe, however, that it would be desirable to make fuller use of university resources. Contacts made by the District subject representatives (through the subject experts) beyond the frontiers of the Land are also a significant factor in our opinion.

3. Planning, diagnosis, determination of objectives and division of labour were largely settled in the preparatory phase or else laid down by the Land authorities.

Coordination of preparatory measures for building projects and school organisation seems to be more satisfactory than the coordination of the work of the subject groups. Here again, a decision will only be possible, however, when the coordinating committee comes to summarize the results of the work done by the subject groups. We believe that problems which then arise, including that of too short a time-table, will be solved in accordance with the views and wishes of inspectors and school heads. Presumably the ministerial group will not re-examine these decisions before they are implemented.

4. The region is not only open to the influence of other systems at the planning and preparation stage but in some areas requires such influence urgently in order to solve specific problems affecting the practical working of the schools.

5. Activities relating to the search for resources and the elaboration and selection of different solutions seemed more satisfactory at the lower level than at District and Land level.

6. As regards objectives, the stage by stage structure has been generally accepted. Problems tend rather to stem from the fact that the courses do not provide a completely fair and optimized structure of differentiations and integration. The transitional phase from a structure of different school types to one of school stages, chosen for the District, i.e. the transfer of all the children in a particular school year from the orientation stage to the integrated secondary stage, has been proved by experience in the District to be superior to the concept of "integration" of different types of school under a single roof. But it already seems clear that this integrated model cannot be implemented in a large area.

7. Resources are insufficient to solve the problems encountered. Without the voluntary participation of teachers in the preparatory stage, adequate preparation would be practically impossible. The fact that the teachers themselves feel overstretched proves that resources are inadequate.

The use of teachers (with the qualifications they have at present) as planners and innovators seems a doubtful proposition in cases where inadequate curricula and a shortage of materials and teaching aids demand a creative approach to the problem encountered. Our work has shown that future teachers in the new school stages should be prepared for the task of implementing reforms spontaneously and continuously in the schools. It also seems that full-time planners must be available from the Education Offices.

Appendix 1

SOURCES AND METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

1. To reconstruct the general administrative background, the following literature was consulted:

- legal texts/parliamentary reports;
- publications of the Land Government, the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs of Hesse, the Wetzlar District, the political parties and associations;
- personal statements;
- ministerial decrees/departmental circulars/correspondence;
- minutes of meetings;
- Press reports (Frankfurter Rundschau - Wetzlarer Neue Zeitung).

2. To obtain detailed information not contained in the sources and to evaluate informal structures, individual interviews were conducted:

- in the Wetzlar Landratsamt with the Head of Department, Industrial Development and Tourism, and the Head of the School Administration Office;
- in the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs of Hesse, with representatives of Departments GII, EI and EIV;
- in the Wetzlar Education Office with the School Inspector for the Northern School District, as Chairman of the Planning and Coordinating Committee;
- with the Headmaster of a new comprehensive school who is also the GEW representative on the Planning Committee;
- with three Kreis representatives.

An interview was arranged with the representative of the Association of General Secondary School Teachers (Philologenverband) but did not in fact take place. An interview planned with a central figure in the process of innovation, the former Land Councillor of the District of Wetzlar who is now a Minister in the Hesse Land Government, could not be held; he simply spoke to us for 4-5 minutes standing in a vestibule. Because of the flow of information concentrating on this official, and the measures originating from his office, there are considerable gaps in our detailed information on the higher sphere of political and administrative consultations and decisions, in particular as regards the contact points between the political party and administration inside and outside the District, between the District and communes, the District and Land Parliament and the District and Land Government.

The tracing and detailed presentation of internal conflicts would have required far more extensive and intensive work (in particular, active observation). It was impossible to identify the precise causes of conflicts because of the very cautious way in which arguments were presented.

We did not interview parents and teachers because it was found that as we moved further down the hierarchy of responsibility, information on the general process became increasingly scanty. In addition substantial expenditure would have been necessary to organise representative enquiries.

3. Few meetings were held during our survey. Apart from some meetings of the subject liaison teachers - which we did not attend because a cursory examination of previous minutes gave sufficient information on the activities and atmosphere of their meetings - one meeting of the Planning Committee was held and one conference of the performance measurement coordinators; we attended both these meetings. The recorded observations and informal discussions yielded only marginal information on "atmosphere". They added nothing substantial to our general presentation.

To sum up, our surveys were distinctly biased towards the "official" side; the activity of the administration was examined in the greatest detail. A study of informal structures (i.e. administration/politics, economics/politics, administration/teachers and parents, and the influence of other groups, as well as e.g. appraisal of the informal structures of information and communication between teachers - which certainly play a part in the consistency of teachers' attitudes and their willingness to accept innovation) was only possible to a limited extent because of the time and effort it would have required.

Further analytical work could still be done in the general context of the study; loose ends could also be tied up.

Appendix 2

LITERATURE ON THE ORIENTATION STAGE (LITERATUR ZUR FÖRDERSTUFE)

Deutscher Ausschuss: Empfehlungen und Gutachten des Deutschen Ausschusses für das Erziehungs- und Bildungswesen, 1953 bis 1965, Stuttgart 1966

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Geissler, E.E., R.Ph. Krenzer, A. Rang: Fördern und Auslesen, Eine Untersuchung an hessischen Schulen mit Förderstufe, Frankfurt/Main, 1967, 2.erw.Aufl.1969

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Handreichungen für den Unterricht in den Förderstufen, Amtsblatt des Hessischen Kultusministers, Juli 1969

Müller, W.: Brauchen wir eine Schulreform?, Frankfurt/M., 1964

Rommel, H.G. (Hrsg.): Die Förderstufe, Stuttgart 1968

Schütte, E.: Kulturpolitik in Hessen, Frankfurt/M., 1966

Zifreund, W. (Hrsg.): Schulmodelle, programmierte Instruktion und technische Medien, darin: A. Rang, Folgerungen aus den Ergebnissen einer Untersuchung über die hessischen Förderstufen, München 1967

Appendix 3

LITERATURE ON COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLING

(LITERATUR ZUR GESAMTSCHULE)

Bungardt, K.: Grund- und Organisationsformen von Gesamtschulen, Material- und Nachrichtendienst der Gewerkschaft, Erziehung und Wissenschaft, Nr. 128, 1968

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Part Four

YORK COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION

by

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May 1971

SUMMARY

York County in the Canadian province of Ontario was formed in 1969 by the amalgamation of six high school, 15 public school boards and three schools for the mentally retarded, in the area just north of Toronto. It is a mixed area of industry and agriculture. Finance comes from municipal taxes and provincial grants, roughly equally.

From the beginning, the Board set out to formulate aims and objectives, and to build up as far as possible a non-hierarchical, non-authoritarian atmosphere which would encourage participation by all in improving the educational system. Board members are elected and responsible to the ratepayers. There is little political activity by particular partisan groups on it. Throughout the Board's work, communication with the community aims at getting public discussion, assessment and approval of proposals and programmes. There are public forums and area advisory committees with parents and teachers. The four main areas of the aims and objectives are responsibilities to the pupils, the community, the teachers, and to seek the "best possible value for the Board's educational dollar".

The personal style of the first and present Director is obviously an essential factor in the build-up of open and frank relationships within the Board and in schools. As in other studies, the author here emphasizes the importance of key individuals in setting the scene for innovation.

There is a conscious attempt on the Board to create a system in which new ideas and alternatives are constantly tried out in the hope of improving the quality of education.

Three major innovations are described as examples of York County practices: curriculum committees, in which teachers in a particular discipline and administrators work together in a professional peer relationship to involve teachers in curriculum development and policies; master teachers, highly skilled and

experienced practitioners who are called in to professionally aid their colleagues - but not from a position of authority; and thirdly, the Organisation Development Unit, a group of initially three specially trained teachers who go to the assistance of particular groups within the system with a particular problem to solve. The authors describe these innovations, trace the processes whereby they were initiated, adopted and implemented, the extent to which their work has been evaluated and as far as possible their impact on the system. Inevitably, with such unusual innovations, there is some criticism from within the system, but the general response to all three seems highly favourable.

One particular problem of the York set-up seems to be getting teachers to realise the remarkable and real freedom and flexibilities of the system, and the extent of their own power within it. The Board indicates a willingness to accept feedback from all levels both within and outside the system.

The authors summarise its success as follows: "The York County Board has managed to create an organisation that exhibits a high degree of openness to change, has a high capacity for change, manages the change process well and is committed to the exploration of new ideas for the improvement of education both in terms of quality and equality of access."

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 219

INTRODUCTION 221

Chapter I

RELEVANT BACKGROUND FACTORS 225

Chapter II

THE ORGANISATION AND ITS OBJECTIVES 231

Chapter III

THE CURRICULUM COMMITTEES 251

Chapter IV

THE MASTER TEACHER PROGRAMME........... 261

Chapter V

THE ORGANISATION DEVELOPMENT UNIT 275

Chapter VI

THE MANAGEMENT OF INNOVATION AND EVALUATION .. 291

Chapter VII

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION 303

Appendix

Map of the Province of Ontario 311

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The execution of a study of this kind depends on the co-operation of many people. That we were able to complete it in such a short period is evidence of the excellent collaboration which we received from all those from whom a contribution was required.

The study benefited greatly from the designs developed by the CERI programme staff in Paris and particularly from the design seminar held in Spåtind, Norway in January 1971. The people collaborating on the companion study of Thornlea Secondary School in York County, Michael Fullan, Dan Spinner and Glen Eastabrook, as well as David Livingstone of the Department of Sociology in Education, OISE, participated in planning sessions and made helpful suggestions.

The people of the York County Board of Education have been most co-operative in facilitating this study in every possible way. The Board of Trustees acted in accord with their general openness to research from outside agencies when they agreed to the study. The Director and his staff have acted with the same characteristic openness in relation to all our requests for information and assistance. All people interviewed, the Trustees, the Director and administration staff, teachers and support staff, received us warmly and gave freely of their time and knowledge of the system. The director, Sam Chapman, Steve Bacsalmasi, the Superintendent of Planning and Development, Brian Burnham, the Research Officer, and Phil Lawrence and Dick Duffin of the Organisation Development Unit, all of the York County Board of Education as well as David Livingstone of the Department of Sociology in Education, OISE, read an earlier draft of the report and made valuable suggestions with regard to matters of fact and interpretation. We were particularly gratified that apart from a few

errors of fact which they kindly pointed out, the York County Board staff considered the report an authentic picture of the aspects of the organisation studied.

We wish to thank all these people.

J.J.L.
H.S.
C.M.

INTRODUCTION

The York County Board of Education was selected as the subject of one of this series of case studies since it was judged by a number of educational authorities to be an example of a highly innovative board in Ontario. In the study we attempted to secure as accurate a picture as was possible of the way the Board manages innovation in general and to examine in more detail three advanced practices as examples of these general strategies. We selected, as best typifying the management process of innovations within the system, the Master Teacher Programme - a system whereby skilled and experienced teachers are appointed to assist teachers in improving their professional skills; the Curriculum Committees - an innovation intended to involve teachers in the process of curriculum development; and the Organisation Development Unit - a team of three human relations experts who attempt to foster better communication and interrelationships among York County personnel.

This study has perhaps some special significance since, unlike most earlier studies of boards of education, it deals with a board in an area that is pre-dominantly suburban, small town and rural rather than with a large metropolitan system. The innovativeness of the York County Board therefore cannot be related to the advantages usually associated with a metropolitan environment.

These three practices are considered innovative since they are not, to our knowledge, commonly found in other Ontario boards or elsewhere in Canada. The master teachers, as will be pointed out later, are staff personnel who relate to teachers on a peer basis and spend part of their time teaching. Elsewhere in Ontario the same functions are performed by line personnel such as curriculum co-ordinators, supervisors, inspectors and superintendents who do no teaching. The Curriculum Committee is an innovation in a system where teachers seldom participate on a systematic basis in curriculum matters. Usually curriculum matters are determined by line personnel with little or no involvement on the part of teachers and are passed down to teachers to follow in their classrooms. This usually leaves considerable flexibility to individual teachers in curriculum matters in their own courses but gives them little influence on these matters in the system in general. As far as we know, the York County Board is the only educational authority in Ontario, or Canada for that matter, which has a special unit established to deal with organisational problems that stem from the complexities of communication and interaction in the routine operations of the organisation. The Organisation Development Unit develops methods and strategies for dealing with such problems and assists group and units in the system in overcoming them.

Over a period of approximately ten weeks we interviewed altogether forty-three people in sessions lasting from half-an-hour to two hours. In many cases we had to come back to the same person for another interview. We interviewed eight of the eighteen members of the Board of Trustees, selected for their knowledge of the innovations and representing a range of orientations to innovation from the more cautious to the most supportive. Since the project was concerned with the management of innovations we conducted interviews with all the Board office administrators, except the Business section. These included the Director of Education, the Associate Director and Superintendent of Operations, the Superintendent of Planning and Development, the Assistant Superintendent of Planning and Development, the Planning Officer, the Research Officer, the Communications Officer, the Co-ordinator of Information Systems, the Superintendent of Special Services, and the Administrator of Adult Education and Summer School. In addition, we interviewed (again usually twice) all four Superintendents of Area and, in a somewhat shorter interview, eight of the principals. Two principals were selected from each Area, one representing a secondary and the other an elementary school. Moreover, one was identified - through discussions with key personnel - as favourably disposed to innovation, while the other was thought to be somewhat more reluctant. In this way we endeavoured to get both sides of the spectrum of attitudes toward innovation in the system.

As for the three specific advanced practices which we studied in more detail, we conducted interviews with the four chairmen of the Mathematics Curriculum Committees (one for each Area). We chose these committees since it became clear early in our study that the Mathematics Committees would provide the best example of this innovative effort in operation. For the Master Teacher Programme, eight master teachers were selected for interviews on the following basis: two from each Area, with one master teacher who had been a supervisor in one of the older boards, while the other had been a teacher. In addition, one master teacher - who was not interviewed - kindly provided us with a critique of the Master Teacher Programme which she had written. Two two-hour interviews were conducted with the three members of the Organisation Development Unit. The questions which we asked the Board members, senior administrators, and principals were general in regard to the overall management of innovation, and specific to the three selected advanced practices. The questions put to the Mathematics Committee Chairmen, the master teachers and the Organisation Development Unit revolved mainly around their particular function (the questions are provided in the appendices). Finally, a number of printed materials (reports, minutes, studies, official publications, etc.) were examined where useful and relevant. The main source of information, however, was the interviews which were taped and then transcribed.

The limitations of this study should be carefully noted. First, no attempt was made to achieve a random or otherwise representative sample of respondents. It was simply not possible; nor was it necessary, given the descriptive objectives of the study. Thus the views of trustees are not representative of the Board of Trustees, those of master teachers not of master teachers as a group, and so on. Yet we have checked out information carefully and have a high level of confidence in the authenticity of the picture emerging in this report. Second, the information on which this report is based is obviously limited in quantity as well. We do not have the confidence to describe this as a definitive study of the way the York County Board manages innovation. Such a study would require a much longer period of time than was available to us and would involve a broader and more representative range of interviews and observations. Within the limits of the time available, this report provides the best picture we could draw on the basis of the information we gathered. We are confident that while more information would undoubtedly add details and enlarge on our picture, it would not drastically change the essential features.

In a study of this kind it is impossible to quantify the data in any meaningful sense. We have followed the strategy of qualitatively building up a picture of the aspects of the York County Board which we wished to study by checking out information, by noting confirmation by different respondents and by querying disparate accounts. It would be laborious and pedantic to report every piece of information in terms of who or how many people gave it to us. Instead we have opted for a straight descriptive account, as if we describe something we have observed or experienced ourselves. Suffice it to say that we are fully aware that the information we have is somewhat biased, selective and perhaps even distorted. Nevertheless, the description is based on information which can be substantiated by either the tapes of our interviews or documentary sources. Consequently, where evaluative type statements occur throughout the report they reflect the opinion of people within the York County educational system, and not value judgements on our part. We have tried to indicate this fact by using qualifying statements such as "in his opinion", or "in their judgement" wherever possible. In addition to the authentication we tried to achieve in the interviews, several of the officials with a comprehensive and in-depth knowledge of the system read the report and concurred with the essentials of our description.

The report consists of seven chapters besides this introduction. In the next chapter we sketch the relevant aspects of the background of the York County Board of Education in terms of historical, social, political, economical and other environmental factors. Chapter III describes the Board in terms of its structure as an organisation and its objectives, as well as its relations to various environments. The following three chapters describe the three exemplary advanced practices selected for closer study - the Curriculum Committees, the Master Teachers Programme and the Organisation Development Unit, in that order. In these chapters we attempt to describe as fully as possible how these advanced practices were developed, adopted and implemented by the Board. Chapter VII describes in general terms how the Board manages innovation, the evaluation of people in the system of the innovative efforts of the Board and their evaluation of the impact of the exemplary innovations on the system. The final chapter is not descriptive; it constitutes an attempt on our part to interpret the findings of the study in terms of a more general conceptualisation of the innovation process and its management.

Chapter I

RELEVANT BACKGROUND FACTORS

Prior to January 1969 the educational picture in the geographical area comprising York County was one of decentralisation and parochialism. As of November 1963, for example, there were eighty public school boards, six high school boards and two schools for the trainable retarded. This situation was somewhat improved in 1964 by legislation which mandatorily created Township School Areas which reduced the number of school boards to fifteen public and six high school boards and three schools for the trainable retarded. Since there was virtually no co-ordination and little communication among these various boards the opportunity for high quality education for each student depended upon each local board's resources. Wide differences in the educational opportunities available to students existed from board to board, as indicated by expenditures per pupil at the elementary level which ranged from $353.00 to $587.00.

To deal with this disparity in educational opportunity (a province-wide phenomenon) the Department of Education also formed, in 1964, county consultative committees in each county of the province to overview the educational situation and to make recommendations to the county councils. The county committees recommended the integration of the existing badly fragmented educational system. Partly as a result of the work of these committees, Bill 44 was passed by the Legislature, as a result of which the number of school boards in the Province was reduced from 1,654 in 1968, to 214 in 1971.[1]

On 1 January 1969 the existing six high school, fifteen public school boards, and three schools for the mentally retarded were amalgamated to form the York County Board of Education. This welded together under one educational authority an area comprising approximately 651 square miles, with boundaries extending directly north of Steeles Avenue on the outskirts of Toronto to the southern shores of Lake Simcoe, and bounded on the west, northwest and east by Peel, Simcoe and Ontario Counties. The extreme southern boundary is the municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. It takes in four towns, three villages and seven townships ranging in size from the Village of Sutton (population 1,564 in 1968) to the Township of Markham (population 23,698 in 1968).

The population of York County, which was 149,980 in 1969, is steadily increasing. Between 1951-61 the population doubled. The projected population for 1973 is 162,040 or an increase of some 12,000 over a four year period. The southern, more industrialised, area of the county is densest in population while the northern sector remains basically rural. The higher population density in the south reflects the "urban pull" of Metropolitan Toronto.

Economically, the county is a mixture of agriculture and industry; however, as a result of the increased average size of farms and of the gradual expansion of urban areas, the rural base has been declining since around 195[illegible]. The economic opportunities of the southern part of the county are closely integrated with the economic system of Metropolitan Toronto. In fact one report has noted: "The great majority of the urban population in York County is dormitory to Metropolitan Toronto in the sense that the wage-earners are employed in that municipality though residing to the north of Steeles Avenue (i.e., in York County).[2] In 1960 the economic base in southern York County appeared as follows: primary manufacturing and construction, 44 per cent; transportation and communication, 10 per cent; wholesale and retail, 18 per cent; business and personal service, 8 per cent; and community and government, 20 per cent. Unfortunately, comparable figures for the northern portion of the county are not available. For the entire county in 1961 the residents' occupations were as follows: managerial, professional and technical, 22 per cent; clerical and sales, 22 per cent; service, transport and communication, 16 per cent; production workers and labourers, 29 per cent; and farmers, 11 per cent.[3] This occupational distribution of the York County population differs very little from the occupational distribution in Canada [4] and in Ontario [5] in the same year. In terms of occupation, York County appears to be a representative microcosm of both the Province and the Country.

With a population of 120,202 in 1962 this economic base generated a per capita assessment of $1,500 and a total tax assessment (residential, commercial, industrial, farm) of $180,494,021 to support its various community needs, including, of course, education.

The ethnic composition of the county is homogeneous with 79 per cent of the inhabitants tracing their ancestry to British roots, with the Netherlands, Germany, and France following in that order, as a place of origin for most others. Likewise, in terms of religious affiliation we find a homogeneity with most people claiming an allegiance to the United Church of Canada (35 per cent), with Anglican (24 per cent), Roman Catholic (14 per cent), Presbyterian (8 per cent) and Baptist (6 per cent).[6] Thus, ethnic and religious diversity was not a significant problem in the amalgamation of the twenty-one boards into one large board. In fact, in terms of parochialism, the only real difficulty in creating the county board was one of geography and to some extent economy, reflected in the north-south differences already noted and the attendant lack of communication and other integrating factors.

As of 30 September 1970 the York County educational system had 43,706 students in all grades, studying in 111 different schools, being taught by 2,033 teachers, both part and full-time, as well as 30 master teachers (about whom more will be said later).

The County is divided into four Areas for educational administrative purposes. Each area has about the same number of students, teachers and schools, with the most significant differences occurring at the elementary level. Of the 111 schools, 94 are elementary schools (kindergarten to grade 8) and 13 are secondary schools (grades 9-13). In addition there are three schools for the trainable retarded and one secondary vocational school. The two thousand plus teachers are complemented by more than six hundred support staff, mostly secretaries and caretaking staff, but including 22 audio visual assistants, and 21 employed in student services, such as psychologists, attendance counsellors and guidance officers. The central administration of the system is in the hands of fourteen officers, whose appointments require the approval of the Minister of Education, and a Business Division.

Enrolments have increased roughly at the same rate as the population during the last few years. However, elementary school enrolment is growing at a slower rate than the population generally, and Kindergarten enrolment has even decreased dramatically in some areas. At the same time, secondary enrolment has increased faster than the population, reflecting the high birth rates of the early fifties. Enrolments of trainable retarded students increased more than 50 per cent between 1968 and 1970. It should be noted that the greatest growth is occurring in the secondary schools and in the schools for trainable retarded where the costs are respectively almost twice as great and four times as great as in the elementary schools.[7]

Naturally, the costs of administering a system as large as this are considerable. The 1970 Budget of the York County Board of Education totalled $34,821,496. Of these costs, instructional and educational services represented 67.0 per cent, capital debt charges - 12.4 per cent, plant operation and maintenance - 11.3 per cent, transporation of pupils - 4.3 per cent, business administration and computer services - 2.4 per cent, tuition fees and other operating costs - 2.0 per cent, and non-allocable costs - 0.6 per cent. The 1970 Budget represents an increase of $4,725,937 over the actual expenditures in 1969. This reflects an increase of 6.2 per cent in enrolment figures and an increase of 9.5 per cent caused by higher cost levels - mainly teachers' salaries.

The revenues of the Board come mainly from municipal taxes and provincial grants (51.7 per cent and 47.8 per cent respectively in 1970). Municipal taxes are the amounts raised through real estate taxes by the fourteen municipalities in York County for the operation of the education system. Provincial grants are paid to the Board on the basis of pupil enrolment. The Province seeks to equalise the local costs of education by contributing a higher percentage of costs to boards whose assessment per pupil is low and a smaller percentage of costs to those boards whose assessment per pupil is greater. Less than one half of one per cent of the revenues derive from other sources such as tuition fees paid by such bodies as Metropolitan Toronto Children's Aid, or by other school boards for students living outside York County but attending York County schools, and from fees for adult education, summer school and rentals for buildings.[8]

Within these financial limits the Board seeks to provide equality of educational opportunity to the school age population which is understood to mean "equal access to the type of education best suited to the students' needs."[9]

Soon after its formation in January 1969 the new Board set out to develop an operating philosophy, and aims and objectives to guide them in the discharge of their responsibilities. The new Director, Mr. S.L.G. Chapman, presented a series of position papers dealing with these matters to the Board which studied, amended and adopted them as a basis for the development of a statement of aims and objectives. In the fall of that year they appointed a committee composed of several Board members, the Director of Education and senior administrators, to work out a set of Aims and Objectives. They met for about four months and held a number of discussions with different groups to seek maximum participation on the part of interested parties. Several of the previous boards (such as Richmond Hill and York Central) already had formulated sets of aims and objectives which proved helpful in this endeavour. The committee drafted a preliminary document which was circulated among all interested parties - teachers, parents, principals, previous board members, etc. - to provide them with an opportunity to offer comments and suggestions. The final draft of the committee's study was again circulated to interested parties and a special meeting was called to discuss this statement of Aims and Objectives. Although this public meeting was not as well attended as was hoped, it resulted in several significant changes in the document.

The formal Aims and Objectives were adopted on 6 July 1970. It is, however, the Board's intention that its aims and objectives will be periodically reviewed and revised in the light of the changing needs of the population and other exigencies that may arise. The Board hopes that the statement of Aims and Objectives will generate new ideas and that all constituencies of the York County educational system will participate in their revision and updating.

Chapter II

THE ORGANISATION AND ITS OBJECTIVES

This chapter will describe the organisation of the York County Board of Education in order to indicate the manner in which the organisational structure helps innovation. We will describe the functional divisions of the organisation, the definition of key roles, the most important policy statements and the Aims and Objectives, and examine their relevance to the innovative efforts of the Board.

One implication of the Act of Amalgamation was to make the Board of Trustees completely responsible to the ratepayers. Previously, in some boards, the trustees were appointed. Since amalgamation all board members are elected and their number and method of selection set by law. The York County Board of Education, since its population base is more than 100,000 but less than 150,000, is composed of eighteen trustees, one of whom represents the separate school supporters (Roman Catholic) in the county. They are elected by the ratepayers of the fourteen municipalities in the county - the number for each municipality varying according to the ratepayer assessment of the municipality. The Board, like all other boards, is responsible and accountable for overseeing and directing the educational system of York County. Currently, the Board includes seven men in managerial positions, four housewives, three trustees who are independently employed, a farmer, an appraiser, a school teacher and one retired person. All, except for the three most recently elected members, have served as trustees on the Boards in the county before amalgamation, ranging in experience from three to nineteen years. Three-quarters of them had been either chairman or vice-chairman of previous boards, as well as having served on various sub-committees.

Several had served on the County Consultative Committee which recommended amalgamation and about half of them had served on the Interim School Organisation Committee which operated for about one year prior to amalgamation as a data collecting and idea gathering body. It has been suggested that this experience in working together as a group on problems directly relevant to the responsibilities of the new Board facilitated the integration of the York County educational system and enabled the Board to get off the ground much sooner than would otherwise have been the case. More than half of the eighteen trustees represent the southern part of the County, reflecting its greater population density.

Politically, there seems to be little activity on the part of partisan groups or parties attempting to exert influence upon the Board. In large part, this is probably due to the fact that all candidates for the Board of Trustees run as non-partisans, claiming no affiliation with any political party. Relations between the Board and local authorities have always been good and co-operation is increasing. The local governments are also amalgamating into a regional authority and are now experiencing problems similar to those which the York Board went through in the last two years. The Board's relative independence and autonomy is secured by the fact that, statutorily, ratepayer levies, while collected by local authorities, are set by the Board of Education and are earmarked for educational purposes.

The Board has attempted to establish channels of communication with the outside community and to involve them in the discussion of educational matters. Public participation in discussing and assessing proposals, identifying problems, and in evaluating programmes is sought through the establishment of public forums and of Area Advisory Committees, which include parents and teachers. The Board has, by policy, ruled that all delegations to Board meetings will be heard, that it will be "visible in its decision-making" (open meetings) and that it will "open many channels for an exchange on matters at the policy level between the ratepayers and the Board". Although public participation is not as widespread as is desired, the appropriate mechanisms have been established.

These aims and objectives of the Board are directly related to its innovativeness and are now described in some detail.

The preamble of the Aims and Objectives states:

> "The main objectives are centred on the service in the schools. Quality which is based on traditional values but enhanced by creative ideas is of the first importance. Variety, which is meaningfully related to differing needs

but within available resources is essential. Development in both curriculum and evaluated experimentation, which avoids the temptations of mere fashion and which always recognises the rights of the students, is the third foundation stone of this service.

In addition there are objectives related to the Board's concept of itself as a good corporate citizen in York County working in concert with other organisations for the good of all residents. Responsibility to the ratepayers requires the clear stating of financial objectives. There are aims arising from the Board's conviction that it is a partner with other educational agencies in the whole community. And since all of the Board's goals can be accomplished only through its staff objectives concerning the Board's role as an employer have been articulated."[10]

The Board has also stated that "the quality of service may be limited by lack of knowledge or money or personnel but it must not be limited by a lack of ideas or of daring." With this the Board has committed itself to innovation; not for the sake of innovation itself, but based upon the assumption that, if equality of educational opportunity is to be realised, alternative strategies, approaches, and methods must be tried. Basic to its approach to education is the belief that since each student is a unique person, individual differences should be reflected in the school. A recognition of the pluralism of students' needs entails matching those needs with a variety of learning environments and situations and this in turn requires experiment with new concepts and forms of education.

Of the personnel we interviewed, all agreed with the stated Aims and Objectives of the Board as a framework for approximating a quality education for all students. Different people have, however, differing conceptions of how the aims and objectives can be implemented. Each has his own particular goals, as is evident from the variety of goals reported by various respondents in answer to the question what they personally see as the most important educational objectives:

- Flexibility and the maintaining of different options.
- Helping students become conscientious members of society while pursuing some kind of intellectual learning.
- Fostering an ability to communicate articulately.

- Developing a child's ability to reason.
- A high priority given to the Three R's: reading, writing and arithmetic.
- More opportunities for gifted children.
- Training children so that they can get along in the world.
- Unification of objectives so that there is a continuous programme from Kindergarten to Grade 13.
- More support services: psychological, guidance, special education.
- Diversifying educational experience, e.g. providing technical schools for the non-academically oriented.

The significant point about these responses is that these goals are all elaborations of the Aims and Objectives of the Board, despite apparent conflicts among them. The Aims and Objectives were written in such a way that differing goals are not seen as contradictory, but rather as supportive of the many-sided endeavour to provide each student with the best education according to his abilities. While the Board's Aims and Objectives are not seen as conflicting in principle, they are seen as limited in practice in that the attainment of a particular objective is restricted in scope or quality by the demands made on limited resources by commitments to attain other objectives.

The Aims and Objectives also deal with the responsibility of the Board to the community: "The Board must be a good corporate citizen of the County. This requires that the school system be aware of its responsibility to adults. The Board desires to help the community become sensitive to its own needs and to assist in fulfilling those needs." One trustee expressed the sentiment of the Board quite simply and succinctly: "The schools belong to the people." Thus the Board has actively endeavoured to open up channels of communication for maximum feasible participation through various means: public meetings, the employment of a communications officer, various advisory committees, conferences, and Board-sponsored publications. All offer the community the opportunity to become involved in the decisions which affect them either through their pocketbooks or the education of their children, or both.

The Board also realises the importance of the quality of staff in achieving its objectives:

> "The key to all the Board's major aims is the quality of its teaching and support staff. Excellence of staff requires three things: the attracting of the most able people both experienced and beginners, the establishing of a climate for growth and a willingness to replace staff for whom the constant communication of a high expectation makes life uncomfortable."

The Superintendent of Planning and Development reflected this when he said: "My aim is to support teachers in their work in a way so that they become more and more independent in their actions; to reach out and help them reach their goal." For him, as well as for others, it is a question of bringing the teachers in York County to a state of professionalism by means of a system of in-service training, professional workshops, involvement in curriculum matters, and non-threatening assistance. To this end the Research Office of the Division of Planning and Development offers courses in research methodology to teachers aimed at developing competence in research techniques that will enable them to undertake studies independent of the Research Office. One of the basic objectives of the Master Teachers Programme, one of the innovations selected for detailed study (see Chapter IV) is to assist teachers in their professional development on the job.

Similarly, the Curriculum Committees, also selected as an exemplary innovation, are founded on the belief that curriculum development depends on the professional expertise of teachers (Chapter III).

The Organisation Development Unit, the other innovation selected, was formed to assist in creating and maintaining a co-operative, open and "people-oriented" work atmosphere in which each individual can make his maximum contribution to the attainment of the objectives of the system. The Aims and Objectives states:

> "This is to be a Board where every man thinks rather than one where most wait for direction. This is to be a Board where everyone tries harder in the full knowledge that there is support if he falters, a Board where everyone pushes out in many directions with every confidence that he will not be knocked down for pushing. This is to be a Board where the "Authorities" are known to be prepared to take risks and where the accent is not on control but on

freedom, a Board that believes freedom should be extended as far as the willingness to accept responsibility and the exercise of good judgement will allow it to be extended."

Thus, the Aims and Objectives of the Board were enunciated with regard to four basic areas: responsibilities to the student, to the community, to the staff, and, to quote the Board again, to seek "the best possible value for its educational dollar." The Board has consciously sought to avoid rank ordering the objectives. Instead it views its Aims and Objectives as an integrated whole, each mutually reinforcing the other, all equally necessary in a quality educational system. In the allocation of resources, new programmes are cost-estimated before they are introduced and appraised in terms of their potential contribution to the achievement of these objectives, given the commitments of the Board to other programmes.

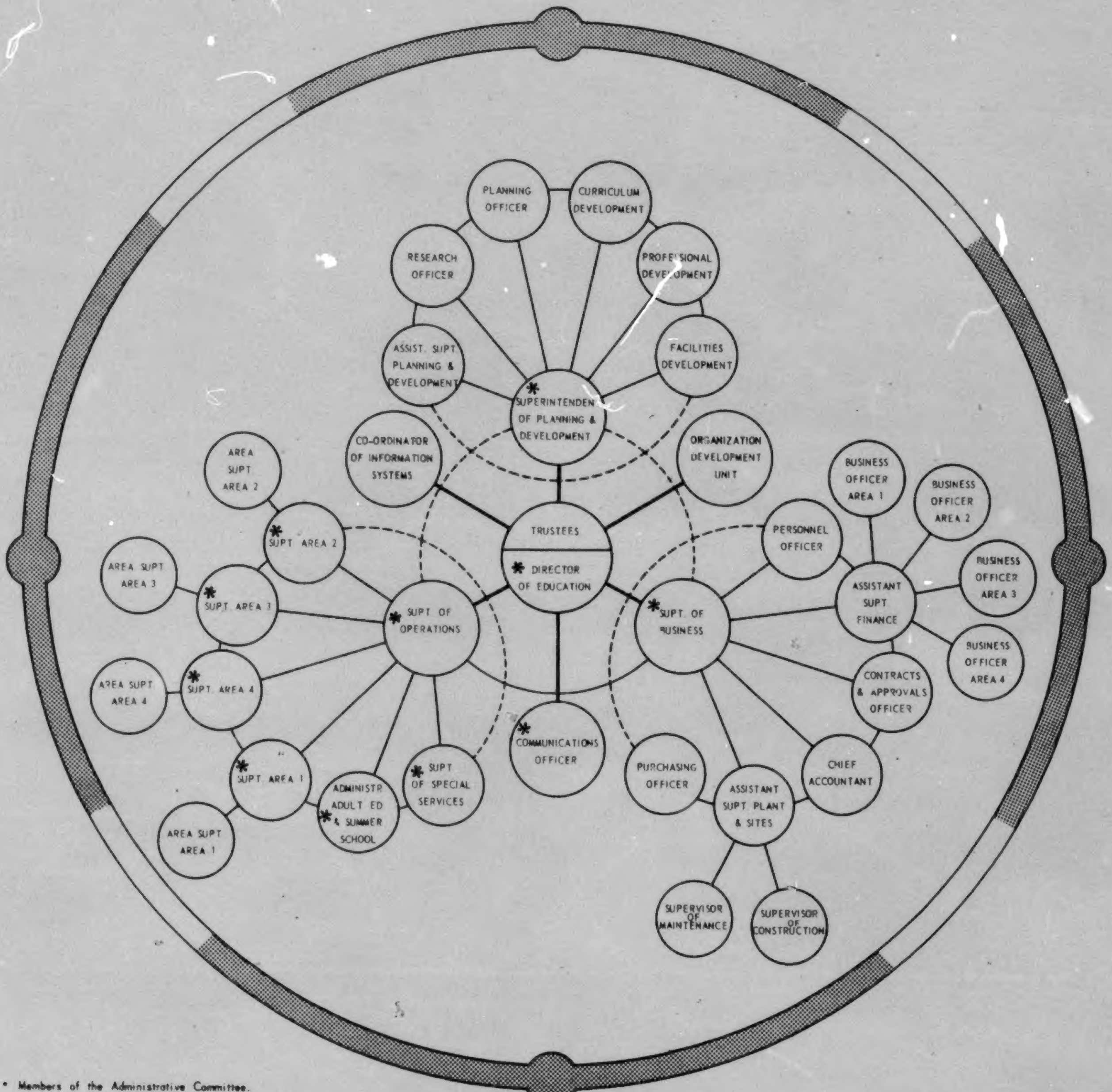
The Board of Trustees is the final authority in the system; as we have seen, it sets objectives for the system, makes policy, approves programmes and allocates the budget. It is also the employer of all the administrative staff, teachers and support staff. As noted earlier, fourteen of the senior administrative appointments require the approval of the Minister of Education. An overview of the organisation can be gleaned from the organisation chart on the next page which was adapted from one of the publications of the Board.

The Director is formally responsible and accountable to the Board of Trustees for the entire system. He has overall authority under the Board and everyone in the organisation is ultimately responsible and accountable to him. (This does not mean that the organisation is steeply hierarchical, as we shall see in the following pages. The Director's Office is in many respects the centre of the organisation through which the main channels of communication between the Board of Trustees, the administration and the staff run.) While ultimately responsible to the Board, he has considerable autonomy and freedom in performing his functions, particularly when he enjoys the confidence and full support of the Board of Trustees as the present Director, Sam Chapman, does. He is able to take a strong leadership role and can count on the support and approval of the Board for carefully prepared proposals which can be demonstrated to be practical and desirable for the system. In this way, through the exercise of skilful leadership, the Director can have a great influence on the Board.

Fig. 1. ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

TAKEN FROM: YORK COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION STAFF REFERENCE BOOK

(September, 1970)


PLANNING OFFICER
CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT
RESEARCH OFFICER
PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT
ASSIST. SUPT PLANNING & DEVELOPMENT
FACILITIES DEVELOPMENT
* SUPERINTENDEN OF PLANNING & DEVELOPMENT
CO-ORDINATOR OF INFORMATION SYSTEMS
ORGANIZATION DEVELOPMENT UNIT
TRUSTEES
* DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
AREA SUPT AREA 2
* SUPT AREA 2
AREA SUPT AREA 3
* SUPT AREA 3
AREA SUPT AREA 4
* SUPT AREA 4
* SUPT AREA 1
AREA SUPT AREA 1
ADMINISTR ADULT ED * & SUMMER SCHOOL
* SUPT OF SPECIAL SERVICES
* SUPT OF OPERATIONS
* COMMUNICATIONS OFFICER
PURCHASING OFFICER
ASSISTANT SUPT PLANT & SITES
SUPERVISOR OF MAINTENANCE
SUPERVISOR OF CONSTRUCTION
CHIEF ACCOUNTANT
CONTRACTS & APPROVALS OFFICER
* SUPT OF BUSINESS
PERSONNEL OFFICER
ASSISTANT SUPT FINANCE
BUSINESS OFFICER AREA 1
BUSINESS OFFICER AREA 2
BUSINESS OFFICER AREA 3
BUSINESS OFFICER AREA 4

* Members of the Administrative Committee.

The way the Director uses his large powers and overall authority in the system depends very much on his personal style, but generally directors of education work closely with their administrative staff. In the case of the York County Board, the Director, Sam Chapman, is known for his willingness to share power and to provide for optimal participation in decision-making. He has an explicit philosophy of decision-making which underlies this style. In our interview with him, he distinguished four types of decisions:

- "tell decisions" which are either trivial or so vital to the accountable person that he has to make the final decision himself;
- "sell decisions" are such that the accountable person can contemplate only one possible course of action but clearly realises that its success depends upon its acceptance by others;
- "consult decisions" for which the accountable person before choosing an alternative seeks to get maximum input from everyone concerned or with special knowledge, but is not prepared to share the ultimate responsibility for deciding; and
- "share decisions" where the accountable person is willing to let someone else share in the decision, accepts the joint decision and shares accountability with the others.

According to Mr. Chapman, he attempts to be honest in his decision-making capacity, that is, he does not try to camouflage a "tell decision" as a "consult" or "share" decision. Clearly, some of his decisions must be "tell" decisions since they involve constraining variables such as budget. In such cases, he makes the nature of the decision clear to everyone. In general, however, he prefers the other modes of decision-making and strives to consult and share most of the time in the decision-making process.

From our interviews we gained the impression that this style of Mr. Chapman is widely recognised and appreciated in the system. It is thought that his ability to attract highly capable personnel to the system derives in large part from this style. Also, a large degree of the innovativeness that characterises the system, as we shall see later, is credited to the fact that as a result of this style of leadership an atmosphere of shared responsibility and respect for automony permeates the organisation.

The organisation is divided into three major administrative spheres headed by superintendents who are responsible to the Director: the Divisions of Operations, Business, and Planning and Development.

The Division of Operations is responsible for the instructional programme, oversees the employment of teaching staff, assists in formulating the budget, interprets the Aims and Objectives as they affect staff and programme, and makes possible the implementation of new programmes. The Superintendent of Operations (who is also the Associate Director) is responsible for all other operation superintendents, principals and teachers. Also reporting to the Superintendent of Operations are the Superintendent of Special Services and the Administrator of Adult Education and Principal of Summer School. In short, the Superintendent of Operations is responsible for the day-to-day running of the schools.

Operationally, the county is divided into four administrative regions, each co-ordinated through the Office of the Superintendent of Area, who is assisted by an Area Superintendent. Superintendents of Area are responsible to the Superintendent of Operations, while all the principals and the teachers in his area are responsible to him. There does not seem to be a concensus on the formal authority relationship between the Superintendent of Area and Area Superintendent; however, in practice, the relationship seems to be one of shared responsibility and co-operation. All four Superintendents indicated that they have a great deal of autonomy in carrying out their functions. The degree to which they communicate with their immediate superior, the Superintendent of Operations, is not so much to seek authorisation as to consult with him regarding problems which may have implications for areas other than their own. In the words of one Superintendent: "I have more autonomy than I ever expected". The Superintendents' definition of their responsibilities negates the inspector role concept and emphasizes far more the supportive and integrative aspects of their position. Cited as their primary functions are the recruitment of staff, which is a two-level process involving the superintendent and the principals of the schools, supervision of programmes and introduction of new programmes, interpretation of Board policy to staff, co-ordination of the various school budgets into an area-wide budget, deciding in consultation with the principals whether a teacher should be offered a permanent contract, and helping principals to deal with specific school problems.

It is of considerable interest that the line organisation is restricted to these four positions: Principal, Superintendent of Area, Superintendent of Operations and the Director. Middle-range, line-associated positions common to other boards of education (consultants, subject supervisors, subject co-ordinators) have been replaced by staff personnel (master teachers, described in detail in Chapter IV) who have no authority over the teachers for whom they provide professional assistance and are organisationally located in the Division of Planning and Development, rather than Operations.

This arrangement represents an attempt on the part of the Director and Trustees to keep the organisation as flat as possible in terms of vertical hierarchy. In this way it was thought that much red tape would be eliminated and that the organisation would function on a more democratic basis providing optimal opportunity to all personnel to participate in the decision-making process.

It is generally recognised in the York County Board, as elsewhere in the Ontario educational system, that the principal is a key figure, not only for carrying out the day-to-day activities in the schools, but also for implementing new practices. Principals in York County, as judged by our interviews with several of them, perceive their role as a motivator of teachers and students, as a facilitator who creates an environment where teachers can develop and freely exercise their professional competence. They see their role more as that of an educator than an administrator; they attempt to de-emphasize their authority and to assist teachers in analysing what they are doing in changing practices where possible, and in creating a non-threatening atmosphere in which teachers will not be inhibited by fear of failure if they experiment. We are not in a position to judge how many principals actually follow this non-controlled style, but many seem to be attempting to approximate this ideal.

The principals emphasized that it is important to recognise that each school has its own identity or personality. At the same time, they seem to realise that there is interrelation between the schools and they do affect each other, that schools must be seen in the context not only of the impact of their activities upon their own immediate communities, but also in terms of their place in the overall educational system, and that this is particularly important for an innovative organisation such as the York County Board. The Principal is responsible for the operation of his school. He has to support teachers in their work; involve teachers in the running of the school (which they do to varying degrees, depending upon their particular philosophy of school decision-making); ensure that teachers are aware of Board policies, Department of Education guidelines, and alternative practices elsewhere; and encourage teachers to innovate when and where possible. Indeed, the principals whom we interviewed indicated that most of the new practices initiated in particular schools developed from ideas and suggestions put forward by teachers. The principal's main role in this respect is to recognise the opportunity for and the limits to autonomy and responsibility afforded his school in innovating and to facilitate innovation within these limits. At the same time, however, the principal must "balance innovation with practical concerns like discipline and school morale," and "cull out what is gimmickry, or what is bandwagon, and keep what has a sound basis." The potential for innovation is encouraged and therefore there is large potential for innovation within the school; but it is sometimes hampered by budget limitations, and the particular character or climate of the school community and the characteristics of the staff. While principals realise the need for involving parents more directly in the life of the school, this seldom happens on a regular and formal basis. It has become evident that parents want to be consulted not so much on day-to-day activities as on important policy issues. They wish to be informed of what is happening in the school even if such information is likely to be after the fact. Meetings with parent groups serve primarily to explain programmes and practices to the parents and to hear suggestions.

This function is particularly carried on by the Area Advisory Committees, as noted below, and by Home and School groups which work in conjunction with many schools throughout the system. Both are consistent with the Board's aim of fostering participation from the total community in educational matters.

With respect to innovation, then, many principals feel that they have "all the autonomy they could possibly use," and that they have "never been turned down" without good reason in any practice they have proposed or tried to implement. Of the eight principals we interviewed, all remarked on the co-operative rapport which existed between themselves and their immediate superiors, the Superintendents of Area: a good example of the minimisation of hierarchical importance.

Principals feel that it is much more difficult to be a principal in an innovative setting due to the openness of operations and the attempt to involve staff, parents and students in the decision-making process. However, they all felt that it was far more interesting and satisfying. While they have considerable autonomy in running their schools and in innovating within their schools, it does not necessarily follow that all of them support attempts at innovation. Within the policy boundaries set by the Board and the Department of Education, principals may initiate new programmes or practices within their own school without authorisation from Superintendents of Area, although they do usually communicate the existence of new practices out of courtesy or to conform with administrative procedures. Since communication between principals and central administrators is less frequent than with Superintendents of Area, responsibility is generally left to the Superintendents of Area for further communications of new practices to either the Superintendent of Planning and Development, the Superintendent of Operations or, occasionally, the Director. From here, if warranted, the new practice is brought to the attention of the Board. Bypassing of Superintendents by principals to a higher authority seldom occurs due to the openness of communication channels, the lack of red-tape, and because principals are usually satisfied with the results of their communications with their immediate administrative superiors. There is a conscious effort to resolve differences and disagreements at the local level. However, should a difference of opinion between a principal and superintendent develop which they could not resolve through dialogue, the principals are encouraged, and indeed they all said they felt free to take their position to either the Superintendent of Operations or the Director - with the knowledge and usually the encouragement of their Superintendent of Area. The Director maintains an open-door for this, although it seldom has to be used.

The personnel practices of the organisation also reflect the delegation of authority and the concern with participation and shared responsibility. The hiring of principals is a two-level decision made by the Superintendent of Area, to whom the principal will be immediately accountable, and the Superintendent of Operations. Sometimes a committee composed of persons from other areas participates in the selection, particularly if the vacancy to be filled is at a large school. Teachers are interviewed and hired by the principal, to whom they are directly responsible, in consultation with the Superintendent of Area. If a disagreement occurs between these two decision-makers the principal's view generally prevails. The superintendent's participation is largely a formality since all four Superintendents of Area believe that if a principal is to be held accountable for his school he must be given the responsibility commensurate with that charge and this entails freedom in selecting staff. The only exceptions to this practice - and they are said to be rare - is when a superintendent is convinced that a prospective teacher could be harmful to a school, or if the Superintendent of Area is not too confident of a particular principal's abilities. In the case of high schools, vice-principals and department heads often participate in the hiring process. The same arrangements apply to the awarding of permanent contracts to probationary teachers: a two-level procedure is involved with the principal's opinion of the teacher usually prevailing. Thus each principal can over a period of years build up a staff in line with his own conception of what his school needs.

Separate from Operations is the Division of Planning and Development, presided over by a superintendent and an assistant superintendent. The Division of Planning and Development is responsible for projecting and planning school needs, research and innovations, curriculum development, professional development, and educational facilities development. Falling within the Division of Planning and Development are the Research Office and the Planning Office. Planning and Development was placed in a division separate from and parallel to Operations to allow systematic attention to the planning and development needs of the system by people who are not directly responsible for its present operation. This separation is thought by a number of staff members to be unique to the York County Board of Education.

The Planning and Development Division is credited with the inspiration of many of the innovations in the system and in general has responsibility for supervising their implementation. In line with the activity of the Division of Planning and Development, the Board has adopted the policy that it will "co-operate with all research which may forward knowledge of value to schools" that is carried out by outside agencies, institutions or individuals; that it will "encourage and co-operate with all thoughtful programme research and development enterprises proposed by its staff;" and that assistance of various kinds will be provided for teachers to take professional development courses. The Superintendent of Planning and Development notes that communication and co-operation with other educators and researchers does in fact help the activities of his Division and the search for solutions to problems in other parts of the system.

The Research Office, within the Division of Planning and Development, has been created for the purpose of designing and conducting research programmes, supporting all committees, groups and individuals wishing to undertake research, establishing exchange and support relations with universities, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), the Department of Education and other agencies, and publishing studies, reports and serial broadsheets to communicate its activities to the County. This independent emphasis on research and development as reflected in the separate division for these functions in the organisation is indicative of the Board's commitment to the improvement of education, and is one of the many factors helping innovativeness in the system.

Three other aspects of the organisation directly accountable to the Director should be mentioned as relevant to innovation.[11] The Co-ordinator of Information Systems liaises with the various administrative units to make available information regarding management systems which can be geared not so much to developing effective and efficient management *per se* as to applying these practices to the process of education. The Co-ordinator of Information Systems acts mainly to assist people in defining their problems and providing them with relevant information to work out solutions themselves. According to various interviewees several parts of the organisation have already benefited from his services.

The Communications Office is responsible for keeping the local public and educational communities informed of the Board's activities. The Communications Officer provides information to the public through press releases of the Board's meetings and through a Board newspaper. This paper, *Contact*, among other things, articulates Board policy to the community, details school activities and programmes, and generally encourages public interest and participation in educational matters. The Communications Officer stated that she is given a free hand in performing her duties and relies upon almost everyone within the organisation for information. One of the goals of the Office is to generate interest in the Board's affairs on the part of the public so that they will attend Board meetings in larger numbers when policy is being discussed and set. The third structure is the Organisation Development Unit which is one of the Board's major innovations and as such will be described in detail in Chapter V.

The top administrative officers in the organisation are co-ordinated in an Administrative Committee. Its Executive Committee consists of the Director, the Associate Director, the Superintendent of Planning and Development, the Superintendent of Business, and the Executive Assistant to the Director, with the full Committee rounded out by the Superintendent of Special Services, the Administrator of Adult Education and Principal of Summer School, the four Superintendents of Area and the Communications Officer. Customarily, others are also invited to participate in the committee's activities either as invited guests or as resource persons. The major function of the Administrative Committee is to co-ordinate activities and to oversee the system as a whole. It therefore helps the work of the Director and the other administrators. At its weekly meetings, current problems are discussed and initial consideration given to new ideas and practices. Usually the Administrative Committee evaluates all such proposals and decides whether they should be taken to the Board for consideration and approval. It also provides an opportunity for the Superintendents of Area to inform the senior administrators regarding the problems, aspirations, feelings, grievances, etc., of their principals and teachers. A particular innovative practice which any one school may be considering, but which may also affect other schools or other areas, would most probably be discussed by the Administrative Committee. It also gives the Communications Officer an overview of the activities of the system and an opportunity to keep abreast of developments within the organisation. Recently, it has begun to assume responsibility for long range planning for the system as a whole.

Consistent with its Aims and Objectives, the York County Board provides a variety of services to the community at large in addition to the basic educational programme: use of the schools as recreational facilities (in 1970, the schools were used approximately 9,000 times), adult education courses (as of October, 1970 there was an enrolment of 3,500 in all programmes), cultural services, public forums, summer school programmes, etc.

The Board also sees a role for itself within the larger context of the educational community. It co-operates with colleges (particularly York University and Seneca Community College) and educational organisations (such as the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education) in their research and development activities. It communicates and shares ideas with other boards of education within the immediate vicinity of York County and in the Province at large. Naturally the Department of Education plays a significant role in terms of the guidelines it sets in such areas as curriculum content and the use of textbooks and general policies. Teachers' groups (particularly The Ontario Teachers' Federation), health groups, the Welfare Department and municipal councils all have occasion to influence education in York County, depending, of course, upon the degree to which they are involved in the issues under consideration. On the whole, this input is welcomed and often sought out, and is seldom seen as constraining or interfering.

In order to aid communication between Board, teachers, and parents, Area Advisory Committees have been established (one in each of the four administrative areas). They consist of parents, teachers, principals and Board members, and their purpose is to provide a means for direct input to the Board by parents and teachers. For the same purpose the Board has passed three policies regarding ratepayer and community involvement in the establishment of policy to make its decision-making process "visible", and so that the administration will not become "faceless". All Board meetings are open to the public, save for items of personnel and property. To quote from Board Policy No. 25: "The Board is concerned lest it join the already too large groups of organisations, both public and private, which practise "faceless administration". The Board is conscious that it is a public authority and a political body and as such has the obligation to be visible in its decision making. The Board accepts that this conviction requires that it conduct as much of its business as possible in open meetings so that the public will be aware how decisions have been made and who is responsible for those decisions."

Other channels for communication are the different publications provided by the Board. The Office of Planning and Development publishes Leisure Leaf, a monthly newsletter for staff, and has published Growth Points 70, a volume of reports of research and development projects in York County schools in 1970 which is to be published annually. As noted, the newspaper Contact is published quarterly by the Communications Officer and is distributed to parents through the schools.

One of the least visible implications of the administrative structure, yet clearly discernible from our interviews, is the innovative spirit which permeates the organisation.

The organisational structure, with its deliberate devolution and restructuring of authority into a more horizontal scheme, is also considered an innovation by those who created it. Within the structure of the organisation there are elements already described, which are thought by some to be innovative: the division of the county into four administrative areas; the replacement of middle-level line positions with staff positions (to be described); the creation of the divisions of Operations, Planning and Development, (and within it, the Research Office) and Business; the creation of the Organisation Development Unit; and the Communications and Information Systems Offices. In short, the organisational aspects which facilitate innovation can be summarized as follows:

- the facilitation of participation by staff and relevant outside agencies and groups;
- the relatively democratic manner in which the Director and other senior administrators interpret their roles;
- the establishment of Planning and Development as a Division separate from, yet parallel with Operations and Business;
- the openness of communication channels, both within the organisation and between the organisation and outside groups;
- the minimisation of line positions and hierarchical structure;
- relative autonomy and responsibility commensurate with accountability in all line positions;
- aims and objectives and broad Board policy designed to encourage innovation;
- the general atmosphere supportive of innovation.

Partly as a result of its organisational structure which is designed to aid innovation, the York County Board of Education has in its short history developed many new practices. Some of these are unique to this Board, while many are applications of ideas developed elsewhere. They reflect the concern of the Board to create and maintain quality education in York County as stated in the Aims and Objectives of the Board.

An example of this approach is the attempt by the York County Board to develop four kinds of secondary schools, each in its own way distinctively different from the usual or standard kind of school. The development of these alternatives is representative of the Board's efforts to provide a variety of educational services suitable to the needs of the community.

Already operating is Thornlea Secondary School, an open-plan, highly flexible and non-traditional school(*) which has incorporated into its structure and process such innovations as the trimester system (three terms of thirteen weeks each), independent learning courses, differential course phases, team teaching, individual time-tabling and various technological and curricular innovations. Also already functioning is Don Head Secondary School, a special technical-vocational school which offers two-year and three-year courses for students who either cannot qualify for admission to regular high school or have little interest in academic subjects.

A "School of the Arts" is under consideration and has already been given Board approval in principle. It will combine a basic academic programme (with special emphasis on English) with specialised instruction in such art fields as music, dancing, drama, visual arts and commercial and industrial arts. It will enrol students from Kindergarten to Grade 12, accomodating elementary age students from its immediate area and secondary students who demonstrate special talent from across the entire County. However, planning is only in its early stages and will require the approval of the Department of Education before the school can be developed.

Recently there has been discussion and a preliminary study regarding the proposed creation of a "hard" school which, in direct contrast to Thornlea, would emphasize both directed and self-discipline, a high degree of structure in method and content, and traditional education programmes. It has been described as a "brand-new old-fashioned" school. A report on the first phase of the study has been presented to the Board of Trustees which has referred it back to the Planning and Development Division for further development.

Other changes are also visible in the schools and classrooms of the York County Board. Kindergartens have recently been set up throughout the County; previously they were limited to only the larger Boards. The teaching of French has been introduced in elementary schools. In many secondary schools the individual credit system, by which students accumulate course credits rather than complete years or grades of work, has been instituted. Computer science courses at several secondary schools are being offered, and a curriculum guide to "Black Studies" (past and present history of the Blacks in North America) has been developed. Field trips (such as teacher-supervised student voyages to Europe) are considered part of a student's studies and thus are given credit rather than being viewed as extra-curricular.

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*) This school is the subject of a separate case study in Vol. III of this series: At the School level, Paris, OECD, 1973.

Furthermore, within each school there are "smaller" innovations which are new advanced practices for a particular school, even if they are not entirely original. This is due largely to the fact that the Department of Education of Ontario has recently replaced curriculum prescriptions with guidelines allowing greater scope for innovation. Hence, each educational authority is now responsible for developing and refining curriculum within the broad guidelines of the Department. This means that a greater freedom exists in experimenting with new methods of instruction, new approaches in course offerings, and new courses themselves. This new freedom is, of course, province-wide and as such does not account for the innovativeness of the York County Board at the school level. We were not able to determine whether there is a greater degree of innovativeness at the school level in York County than in other counties in the Province.

The foregoing should give some impression of the scope and diversity of the advanced practices which the York County Board has put into use. These educational innovations are partly adaptations of sound practices developed elsewhere, (some from the various Boards which amalgamated in 1969) applied to meet the particular needs of the county; others are original in form or content, although founded on ideas which might have originated elsewhere. They all reflect, however, the conscious attempt on the part of the Board to create a system in which new ideas and alternatives will constantly be tried out to improve the quality of education.

Chapter III

THE CURRICULUM COMMITTEES

The following three chapters describe in detail the three advanced practices which we selected as exemplary of the approach of the York County Board of Education to innovation. This chapter deals with the Curriculum Committees, the next with the Master Teacher Programme and the third with the Organisation Development Unit. In each chapter we attempt to describe the innovation as clearly as possible, tracing the processes by which it was initiated, adopted and implemented, as well as the extent to which it has been evaluated, and its reported impact on the system.

To understand the factors involved in the creation of the Curriculum Committees we have to examine the perceptions and reasoning of the people who were involved in the process. One of the major concerns of the Superintendent of Planning and Development, who was instrumental in establishing the committees, is the fostering of professionalism among teachers. He has written: "No organisation is able to operate under false pretenses for any length of time. The philosophy behind the organisational structure, the professed aims, the style of operation and the environment need to be complementary and mutually supportive. If there is any breakdown between these organisational components, the stress created becomes visible and disruptive."[13]

The philosophy of the York County educational organisation is maximum participation. This means, for teachers, involvement in areas which directly concern them (although in the long-range view all areas of education involve teachers). Mr. Stephen Bacsalmasi, the superintendent, has noted that two such areas stand out; namely, curriculum and in-service teacher-education. In most Boards, curriculum matters are handled to a considerable extent by curriculum co-ordinators who, through liaison with the Department of Education, determine the structure and content of what is to be taught in the school classroom. This sort of decision-making about curriculum is considered contrary to both the Board's philosophy and the concept of teachers as professionals.

The Curriculum Committees represent an attempt on the part of the Board to provide an alternative: namely, teacher involvement in curriculum development and determination. As a Board member remarked: "After all, this is where curriculum should be built, from the teachers up and not from the administrator's room down." The problem was to find the most viable mechanism for teacher input and the Curriculum Committees were the result:

> "To provide the best possible vehicle, the area curriculum committees were created where teachers of a particular discipline and administrators work together in a professional peer relationship. To encourage autonomy and continuity the committees elect their own chairmen for two-year terms. The function of these committees is advisory and consultative and all levels, Kindergarten - Grade 13, are represented from across the administrative area. The contention is that where curriculum is trusted to the proper forces of the educational system, then a desirable leadership, a positive and dynamic co-operation based on honest professional and intellectual conviction, will develop. It is further assumed that the lack of a teacher-based permanent curriculum organisation, thus the absence of the effective channel of communication, is mainly responsible for the aimlessness and discontinuity in curriculum practices.
>
> In very simple terms, the York County experiment is to provide effective vehicles for the teachers to participate in decision-making, especially where their professional competence is required. It also seeks to help them by increasing their own professional ability."[14]

The intention, then, is for classroom teachers in the same subject area to come together to discuss and make recommendations regarding all aspects of curriculum structure and content. Since September 1969 in each of the four areas of the county there have been Curriculum Committees for each subject area, plus a primary school committee, a technical committee, an audio-visual committee, a special education committee, an outdoor education committee, and a library committee. All classroom teachers in York County are eligible and encouraged to participate in the work of the various committees, but their participation is strictly voluntary. (Indeed, Mr. Bacsalmasi discourages principals from seeking to ensure that at least one teacher from their particular school is represented on each committee since this can easily destroy the voluntary basis of the committees. Some principals, however, still try to do this). Thus, for example, a teacher at the secondary level would participate in the Curriculum Committee of his or her subject area, such as English, Mathematics, etc. Since elementary teachers are usually involved in a number of different subject areas they choose that committee which most interests them.

The tasks and objectives of the committees are considerable, as the following list provided by Mr. Bacsalmasi suggests:

- bring together teachers of the elementary and secondary sectors and strengthen their good relationships;
- learn more about the needs and the problems and requirements of a discipline to aid learning at both the elementary and secondary levels;
- study means of better evaluation of student progress;
- examine the various methods of reporting the progress of students which will be understood by and useful to parents and schools as well;
- improve the methods of judging experimental courses and continually reviewing the existing curriculum guidelines of the Department of Education;
- improve the methods of examining and selecting textbooks, films, film-strips and other audio-visual aids;
- advise in establishing guidelines for equipment, furniture or other school facilities standards;
- recommend changes in matters important to professionals and to individuals such as extension of school year or day, or use of teaching aids.

This list is by no means complete since, consistent with the goal of professional development, the final determination of the committees' work is left to them. Committees are intended to be autonomous, self-directed units, and since there is little in the way of financial implications to impinge upon their autonomy, their degree of freedom depends upon their own willingness to exercise it. In fact, the only directives which the committees have been given is that they should elect a chairman to preside at meetings and a secretary for recording minutes (both for a term of two years), and that copies of these minutes should be forwarded to the Superintendent of Planning and Development and the superintendent of their area.

One principal or vice-principal generally participates in the work of each committee as do Superintendents of Area, but this is solely for the purpose of liaison with the administration and their participation is strictly on a peer basis. Curriculum Committees vary from area to area, and there is no attempt to co-ordinate them since each committee deals with its own concerns (although one would expect that some co-ordination among the four committees - one in each area - in the same subject would be beneficial). While it is true that the committees have no authority actually to implement curriculum decisions, their recommendations usually carry much weight with the administration. There are no limitations on the type of recommendations they can make, the strength with which they are made, or the person to whom they can be made. The usual procedure is for the committees to make their recommendations to the Superintendent of the Area, who then, if necessary, passes them along to the Superintendent of Planning and Development. The main point is that, as one Superintendent of Area maintains, their recommendations are followed as often as possible, within the broad limits of the system. One limiting factor, as perceived by some interviewers, is the Department of Education's curriculum guidelines which, while generally broad, may curtail or prohibit some suggestions in certain subject areas such as religion, psychology or sex education.

The prime mover behind the idea of the Curriculum Committees was the Superintendent of Planning and Development. With approval from the Director and the Board (who are enthusiastic about the programme and its potential), Mr. Bacsalmasi and the Assistant of Planning and Development, Mr. Clifford Grant, sought to get the committees started. At first, they suggested to several teachers that they call a meeting of subject teachers to discuss curriculum development and improvement but this approach did not gain acceptance and was even resented by some teachers. Subsequently, the Superintendents of Area were asked to call a meeting of teachers at which either Mr. Grant or Mr. Bacsalmasi explained the concept, purpose, and operation of the Curriculum Committees. As a result of this effort, committees were formed, elected chairmen and commenced their work. In a few cases a teacher of the subject area was appointed chairman to get a committee started.

Once they were formed, these committees were given little direction from administrators; at most, examples of undertakings they might consider were provided. (One exception might be noted - in one area the superintendent did provide the committees with a specific list of tasks to perform). The reason for this non-direction is once again the belief that professionalism among teachers cannot be imposed from above, but must be generated out of the teachers' own conception of themselves as professionals. Initially, and to some extent this still exists, teachers experienced frustration in attempting to define their objectives, tasks and method of operation. However, Mr. Bacsalmasi maintains that in the very act of solving this problem the twofold value of the Curriculum Committees is to be found: a) as vehicles for dealing with problems of curriculum development and, b) through the actual process of participation teachers will increasingly come to view themselves as professionals. Thus, rather than directing the committees he allows them to struggle, believing that in finding their course, the journey becomes their own. In his view teachers become truly professional the day they begin to tell him what to do. In answer to a question from a teacher in Leisure Leaf he contends that only teacher professionalism in curriculum matters, which the Curriculum Committees attempt to foster and develop, can stop the erosion of public education.

"Wherever we look the system of compulsory public education is questioned. The future of the public schools is hanging by a thread and private business is taking over public education, or at least part of it in many places. More than twenty-one school districts in six United States states are already paying millions to private companies to teach in "public schools". This is very disturbing to me as it seems an "easy solution" - contracting out the "difficult-to-teach" tasks. It may make us forget that the problem is the erosion of public education. I feel that the real question my friend asked me was: "Can you stop this decline of public education through curriculum committees?" My answer is "yes, but in only one way, by involving every professional teacher in the process of reform." This is really a basic reason for the existence of the curriculum committees. I don't know a simpler way of putting it."[15]

This view is not unique to Mr. Bacsalmasi. In one way or another, all the administrators whom we interviewed applauded the idea of the Curriculum Committees as a means for both involving teachers in the decision-making process in the York County system, and as a strategy for professional development. Yet a large number of teachers have not understood this aim, or for other reasons have not participated in the work of the committees. Consequently, since many Curriculum Committees have not shown much development, some administrators feel that the teachers have not responded positively enough to warrant placing high expectations upon the committees' success. While highly desirable, they maintain that the committees are not yet a practically viable substitute for the traditional way of dealing with matters of curriculum. In response to this attitude, one senior administrator has noted that practices such as the Curriculum Committees cannot be expected to approach the "well-oiled" smoothness of a line organisation. In his view, the success of the committees depends to a great degree on the administrators' ability to convey to teachers their desire for a professional attitude on the part of all teachers within the system. According to him some administrators do not realise yet that programmes designed to evoke professionalism among teachers will not, at least not initially, run as smoothly as ordinary operations programmes. The Curriculum Committees are therefore hampered to some extent by the absence of the right attitudes to teacher professionalism on the part of both teachers and administrators.

In our endeavour to understand the operation of the Curriculum Committees we studied the mathematic committees more closely since they were reputed to be the best examples of successfully working committees. Through interviews with the four chairmen of these committees a picture emerged which confirms the observations noted above. All four committees consist of teachers interested in improving the mathematics curriculum in their areas. They all elected a chairman and a secretary and one of the committees established sub-committees to deal with specific phases of mathematics education. (As is intended, there is a participating principal on each of the committees.) All understood their purpose in terms of curriculum development and affording teachers an opportunity to grow professionally by involving them in matters of curriculum: in a sense, to be doing what they should have been doing all along. All of them saw the main value of the committee as an opportunity for teachers to get to know each other and to work together towards a common objective: improving mathematics.

The chairmen confirmed the autonomy and independence of the committees from the administration. In fact, all the chairmen suggested that perhaps a bit more direction from Mr. Bacsalmasi's office would be useful.

They send their minutes to Mr. Bacsalmasi and usually try to maintain contact with the superintendent of their area, although this is really unnecessary. In no way do they feel constrained or limited in deciding what to investigate or how to do it; to quote one chairman: "Responsibility is entirely in the hands of teachers." The problems which confront these four committees are seen as coming not from administrative constraints, but from the teachers themselves.

While participation in the mathematics committees seems to be more active than in other committees, all four chairmen thought, nonetheless, that lack of participation was a problem. Apathy and incredulity were part of the reasons for non-participation, but these four chairmen suggested the main reason for non-involvement was lack of time. This is reflected in their recommendations for improving the committees: that teachers be given time off to avoid the conflicts and pressures that vie for a teacher's free hours. Another often-mentioned recommendation has already been noted: more direction from the Superintendent of Planning and Development.

None of the chairmen felt that it was necessary for committees to have the authority to implement in order to make an impact on curriculum. Instead, to be given authority to implement could involve the committees in too much red-tape and thus destroy their creative potential, or it could restrict the freedom of the individual classroom teacher by imposing uniform curriculum standards. All believed that recommendations which they might make would carry considerable weight. So far, none of the committees has made many suggestions, but those proffered have been well received and acted upon. So far, the main impact of their work has been that the primary and secondary teachers have started to communicate and work together.

One committee is working on developing core material to achieve continuity in mathematics instruction from Kindergarten to Grade 13. The significance of this development should be seen against the background of over 130 years marked by a strong division between elementary and secondary panels in Ontario. Since there is very little communication among the four mathematics committees, each gathers information and functions in its own way. Three of them rely mainly upon exchange of information between teachers and the expertise of master teachers, while the other has divided itself into sub-committees to deal with particular problems.

For the three that do rely upon the master teachers, there appears to be no problem of their either dominating the proceedings or teachers overtly deferring to them. All four committees thought that one modification in their structure should be periodic meetings of the four chairmen to exchange information and to discuss mutual problems. They thought this should be voluntary and at the instigation of the chairmen themselves. Finally, they all had high aspirations for the future work of their committee and thought that, despite the present problems, the Curriculum Committees make a significant contribution to the organisation. All hoped that the committees would be continued.

Although the mathematics committees may not be typical of the others, they demonstrate that the idea of Curriculum Committees is practicable, and that some teachers take them seriously and believe that they can make a significant contribution to professional and curriculum development.

It is clearly too early to tell if the committees have had their intended effect. In talking with principals and the four Superintendents of Area, it is quite clear that only a few of the committees are functioning as they were intended to. Some committees have produced results which have been implemented in some of the schools. For example, one principal mentioned that his school had benefited from work done by the Moderns Committee; another's school has been able to improve its timetabling owing to recommendations made by one committee; a number have benefited from the work of the mathematics committees, in terms of development of core material, or in terms of diagnostic tests for the evaluation of students' mathematical abilities. Despite the limited success of the committees to date, all but one of the principals interviewed and all four Superintendents of Area, believe that they can become an adequate mechanism for dealing with curriculum matters and enhancing teacher professionalism, but only if existing problems can be eliminated.

Most of the problems which the Curriculum Committees have encountered are of a non-structured variety. That most commonly cited by interviewees is the apathy and failure to participate on the part of many teachers. One of the main reasons for this non-participation seems to be that many teachers, especially those attending university classes at the end of the school day or having other commitments, are already too busy to become involved. In the northern part of the county travelling is a problem. Then there is non-participation based upon a lack of understanding of the role and purpose of the Curriculum Committees. Some teachers apparently feel that since the Superintendent of Planning and Development is paid to oversee planning and development, it is his job to worry about curriculum. The disbelief that the committees are more than a rubber-stamp for decisions already made, or the feeling that the committees cannot be effective since they do not have the authority to implement, are further corollaries of the same attitude. Many of the interviewees felt that these attitudes have to change if the committees are to become a regular and significant part of the York County organisation. The administration seems to be generally aware of these problems and some of them contend that only through a slow process of trial and error, input and feedback, encouragement and communication from administrators to teachers and among teachers can they be overcome.

Chapter IV

THE MASTER TEACHER PROGRAMME

We have now seen the importance which the York County Board of Education places upon professional development, both in general terms derived from the Board's goals and, specifically, through one innovation practice - the Curriculum Committees. There is another even older approach to professional development and growth in operation within the system, namely, the Master Teacher Programme. The guiding philosophy of this practice is to assist teachers in their professional development in a non-threatening manner. The idea is that this can best be done by highly skilled and experienced teachers, called master teachers, with absolutely no authority over the teachers whom they assist. In order to introduce this innovation, some of the traditional roles in the system had to be drastically changed, redefined and given a different place in the organisation.

Historically, the role of inspector has been a critical one in the educational system of Ontario. Inspectors were employed by the Department of Education or by school boards and were responsible for examining and reporting back to their superiors on the work of teachers in the classrooms. They were part of the line organisation with authority over the teachers and reported to superintendents or higher officials. In 1966 the Department of Education introduced changes in the title to programme consultant. In part these changes involved the elimination of the inspector function and made the programme consultant's role more one of assisting teachers. However, in practice the change has not been complete and programme consultants still perform functions similar to those of inspectors.

The general practice in boards of education in Ontario today is to have curriculum co-ordinators or supervisors whose role is essentially the same as that of the traditional inspector. In fact, in some boards they are still called inspectors. While there are, therefore, changes in the inspector role in evidence throughout the province, the Master Teacher Programme of the York County Board of Education stands out as perhaps the most radical departure from the traditional concept in its clear and complete separation from any form of line authority.

This separation is not achieved by dropping the line functions of the inspector entirely. In the York County Board system the necessary functions relating to personnel decisions about teachers rest with the principal and the Superintendent of Area. Whereas under the old system professional development tended to be the by-product of the inspection system, i.e., a result of the teachers' fear of negative sanctions and a desire for security, the Master Teacher Programme makes professional development of teachers its main business. The basic theory behind the programme is therefore that professional development is more likely to take place if teachers are positively motivated, if they are encouraged to become professionals, than if they are negatively motivated to improve their skills because they fear negative sanctions if they do not. While the negative sanctions are retained in the line organisation in the York County Board, the Master Teacher Programme provides a new set of staff roles through which excellent teachers can be called upon by their colleagues to assist them on a peer basis in attaining their aspirations in professional development.

The origin of the Master Teacher Programme ante-dates the formation of the York County Board of Education. It was started in the York Central District High School Board, one of the Boards which was amalgamated into the York County Board. The present Director of the York County Board, Mr. Sam Chapman, was then Superintendent of Education in the York Central Board (a position equivalent to that of Director), and was largely responsible for the initiation of the programme.

In a general inspection and examination of all teachers in the York Central Board, conducted in the fall of 1962, the teachers in the Board received an average rating of 4.32 on a seven point scale. To Mr. Chapman this was discouraging since it indicated that there were almost as many poor teachers as good teachers in the system or that most teachers had only average ability. As a result, the York Central Board decided that the quality of its teaching staff had to be upgraded if its objectives of high quality education for all students were to be achieved. Chapman was given the task of hiring better new teachers, of retaining good teachers who were often attracted away to Metropolitan Toronto, and improving the quality of the teachers already on staff. To achieve the latter goal he developed the idea of the master teacher which was received with enthusiasm by the York Central Board.

In developing the concept of a master teacher Chapman settled on five criteria which a master teacher should meet:

- he should be a specialist in this subject field so that he can impart expert knowledge to the teachers whom he assists;
- he should be resident so that he can be readily available to the teachers at all times;
- he should be strictly a support person with no line authority so that teachers will not view him as a threat;
- he should have a low level position so that the psychological distance between his role and that of the teacher is not large; and
- he should be a practising teacher so that he is familar with classroom problems, can try out ideas in the classroom in order to be able to tell teachers that they work in practice, and can demonstrate them to the teachers.

The York Central Board approved and actively supported the idea and in 1963, on the recommendation of Mr. Chapman, they authorised the hiring of five master teachers. They met the criteria set by Mr. Chapman who hired them. They were practising teachers and remained so for 40 per cent of their time while the other 60 per cent was devoted to the master teacher role. These master teachers played a large part in defining the new role and their activities. While Chapman developed the idea that they should have no line authority, he initially suggested that the master teachers should provide him with information on and their evaluation of a teacher whom he was about to fire on the basis of his own negative evaluation. He reasoned that this was clearly in the interest of the individual teacher and since it would be confined to cases where he had already reached a negative decision, their non-threatening role would not be jeopardized. The master teachers disagreed and insisted that their credibility with teachers would be destroyed if they did this. Mr. Chapman accepted their reasoning and as a result their role was established as completely separated from the line functions of the organisation.

They never reported back to Mr. Chapman or discussed their relationships with teachers, not even when they could praise a teacher.

At the outset, Mr. Chapman provided the master teachers with capsule reports on various teachers he thought could use their assistance. Generally, he ranked them from one to three, with one being given the highest priority as in most need of assistance. However, the final discretion as to whether to contact a teacher, and how much time to spend with him, rested with the master teacher. Nor were teachers told to seek the assistance of a master teacher. The ideal was that teachers would recognise their need for assistance and would voluntarily call upon the master teachers for help.

The master teachers met every Friday afternoon to discuss and co-ordinate their activities in pursuit of their goal to upgrade the teaching quality in York Central schools. They were given a free hand, were assisted where possible and were constrained only by time and the willingness of teachers to call upon them. As a result, three years later the average teacher rating went from 4.32 to 5.78. As one master teacher, who bridged the transition from York Central to York County, said: "It worked beautifully, but we were a small system then."

With amalgamation in 1969 when Chapman became Director of the new Board he proposed that the Master Teacher Programme be adopted for the entire County. The other boards which amalgamated with the York Central Board still had between 40 and 50 coordinators, consultants or supervisors on their staffs. Mr.Chapman gained the support of the new Board of Trustees for the Master Teacher Programme. Since the Act of Amalgamation provided for employment security for the staff of the earlier boards, complete freedom of choice in the appointment of the master teachers was lacking. An attempt was made to identify, among the existing supervisors and co-ordinators, those who would best be able to make the transition to the role of a master teacher. In spite of this, some persons were employed as master teachers who did not meet all the criteria for the role and were not completely committed to the approach of support rather than control. The result was that the programme suffered initially and that its implementation in the York County system met with opposition mainly because people had to relinquish their former roles and move into new roles which were neither clearly defined nor completely understood, yet were seen as radically different from the old ones.

Thirty master teachers were appointed on the same basis as those in the York Central Board with 40 per cent of their time allocated to classroom teaching in their subject in a particular school. At an initial conference of the new master teachers, held in June 1969, the atmosphere was marked by suspicion and mistrust. The situation was aggravated by the presence of some support staff who were invited to help the discussion but did not know the master teachers. As a result the conference failed in its objective - to promote open discussion of the programme. However, in the fall of 1970 the master teachers met again and invited the assistance of the Organisation Development Unit (involving some of the same support staff) with beneficial results. Our interviews with eight selected master teachers indicate that this conference was very helpful in removing some of the earlier difficulties and in generating new ideas and experiences relevant to their work: most of the master teachers credited the Organisation Development Unit with a large share of this.

The adoption of the Master Teacher Programme met with considerable opposition at the outset. While there were no organised groups in opposition, a fair number of teachers, supervisors, principals and local politicians opposed the plan. For most, it appears to have been simply a matter of not understanding the role of a master teacher; for some it was an unwillingness to make the necessary adaptations; a few opposed the plan because there was suspicion of Mr. Chapman and a hostility towards vestiges of the York Central Board - a problem not yet completely abated. For the politicians, and some others, the requisite $350,000 to fund the programme was thought excessive and best used elsewhere. Thus, a selling job was in order.

In the genesis of the Master Teacher Programme at York Central, Mr. Chapman was greatly involved in explaining and clarifying its implications to principals and teachers. Due to the pressures of developing a completely new organisation he was unable to perform a similar function in York County. Since the Master Teacher Programme was located organisationally in the Division of Planning and Development this task, which was considerably larger due to the size of the system, devolved on the superintendent and his assistant. They were responsible for selling the programme to the key persons in the organisation, particularly the principals, and implementing it with its new modifications. While in York Central the programme was limited to the secondary level; in York County it was expanded to include all teachers from Kindergarten to grade 13. Recruitment of master teachers for the primary grades and filling the complement for the secondary specialities was necessary. Master teachers, furthermore, had to be assigned to schools for their teaching time and distributed within the administrative areas on a roughly somewhat equal basis. Once this was done a list of names of the master teachers were given to all principals and teachers, and from there, the programme was on its own. The master teachers were assured that they were responsible only to their fellow teachers and their own consciences.

As noted above, the master teacher's role is two-fold. For 40 per cent of his time he is a classroom teacher, assigned to one particular school for a given school year or part. Only in this capacity is he directly responsible for the growth and development of pupils. As a classroom teacher he is responsible to the school's principal, is considered part of the school's staff and is able to participate in the work of Curriculum Committees. Master teachers do not have any special role on the Curriculum Committees, although some master teachers indicated that, because they were master teachers, a certain deference was shown them by other teachers on the committees. But generally this appears not to be the case since most master teachers consciously adopt a low profile and act mainly as resource persons, which is an indication of their understanding of both their own role as well as of the nature of the Curriculum Committees.

Classes, and hours when classes will be taught, are assigned to master teachers by the school's principal. The fact that a master teacher represents only four-tenths of a teacher in the assigned pupil/teacher ratio seems, in the views of several principals, to create some timetabling and other problems for them. However, they have accepted this arrangement, and a few said that they prefer to have master teachers on their staff, despite the scheduling problems. The 40 per cent of master teachers' time spent in classroom teaching overlaps with the development aspect of their duties in that their classes are designed to be demonstrations which other teachers may come and observe.

The other 60 per cent of a master teacher's time is devoted to his "master" role and is spent in professional development of teachers in his subject area. This entails consultation with teachers either individually or in groups, conducting workshops and providing various forms of in-service training such as holding seminars, demonstrating new materials or new teaching techniques, etc., depending on the support needs of the teachers. As was the case in the York Central Board, the master teachers are given a free hand. One said, "We're given more freedom than I ever expected." They report to no one except the Superintendent of Planning and Development, to whom they have to submit statistical reports of miles travelled, number of classes visited, number of teachers consulted, seminars conducted, and so forth. Their knowledge of individual teachers is kept strictly confidential and is not made available to the line organisation for personnel purposes. As one master teacher put it: "There are many good things about this position. One is the freedom that is allowed to us in our professional development time. We are not accountable to anyone. We are looked on by Planning and Development as being honest, professional people, and therefore doing the best we can in the time given."

The master teachers interviewed indicated that co-ordination of their activities was conducted by themselves with no direct interference or pressure from line personnel. Indeed, communication between master teachers and administrators is purposely kept at a minimum so as not to distort the image of master teachers as support staff. Master teachers communicate most frequently with the line operation through the principal who is, of course, in the lowest position in the line organisation and is directly responsible for teachers. Contact between master teachers and superintendents is almost negligible, and communication with Mr. Bacsalmasi, the Superintendent of Planning and Development, apart from statistical reports, ranges from help in the co-ordination of meetings, to requests for money, and simple personal encounters. There are, however, monthly meetings of all master teachers and the Superintendent of Planning and Development at which time problems they encounter and assistance they require are discussed. As a master teacher put it: "Mr. Bacsalmasi's office is a vehicle for assisting, not directing."

The degree of co-ordination between master teachers themselves is left to their own discretion. In York Central they were a small group and thus met regularly every Friday afternoon. In the larger system of York County greater demands are made on their time so that meetings are held only once a month. In the opinion of at least one master teacher, such meetings are often pointless since they usually lack a common frame of reference. Since there is minimal direction, co-ordination or guidelines of or for their work there are likely to be almost as many operating styles and approaches to their role as there are master teachers. Master teachers in the same subject areas, say, Art or Music, do attempt to co-ordinate their efforts to some extent to avoid unnecessary duplication and, in some cases, to lessen travelling distances by geographically dividing the County between them.

The master teacher position is broken down into two ranks, with 16 master teachers I and 14 master teachers II. The status differences between the two categories are not emphasized and the Superintendent of Planning and Development maintains that they are strictly categories of salary and do not reflect different ranks or status. However, master teachers are promoted from one category to the other and a difference in rank is clearly implied. The extent to which this difference is minimised is evident in the fact that the title remains simply that of master teacher, with no indication as to whether a person is in category I or II.

Initially, most of the master teachers II were secondary teachers and most master teachers I were elementary teachers. This reflected the differences in educational qualifications and in salary between elementary and secondary teachers, the latter being required to have university degrees. Master teachers II receive a higher "responsibility allowance" than master teachers I. The determination of the category into which a particular master teacher falls rests with the Superintendent of Planning and Development who is responsible for hiring and promoting master teachers. According to him, a university degree is not required for appointment or promotion to the master teacher II category. In fact, there are master teachers II without degrees and some master teachers I with degrees. There seems to be a conscious attempt to avoid a two-class system within the programme with secondary teachers having higher status than elementary teachers. The main criteria for appointment seem to be excellence of teaching skills, with the number of years of teaching experience determining whether the appointment is at level I or level II. In promotion, Mr. Bacsalmasi states that no attention is paid to whether a person has a degree or not, nor whether he is a secondary or elementary teacher. The sole criterion seems to be demonstrated excellence in the master teacher role of assisting teachers in their professional development.

The modes in which contact is established between classroom teachers and master teachers vary widely. The mode prefered by all master teachers is for the teachers themselves to request assistance as the programme intends them to do. However, this does not always occur. Initially, when the programme commenced, Mr. Bacsalmasi and Mr. Grant urged principals to encourage their staff to call upon the master teachers. Some principals will directly ask a master teacher to visit one of their teachers. But some feel that this type of invitation is itself an evaluation of the teacher and instead suggest that the master teachers talk to their staff as a group in the hope that those needing help will respond. Other principals involve their department heads or will suggest to a teacher that he consult a master teacher. Occasionally, Mr. Bacsalmasi will refer a master teacher to a particular teacher, as will a Superintendent of Area. At the beginning of the school year master teachers receive a list of all new teachers and transfers within the system, but are not required to visit them. Whatever the mode of contact, the classroom teacher alone decides whether to take the master teacher's help, since the master teacher, like the physician, must keep everything - good, bad, indifferent - to himself. As one master teacher observed: if a principal should unduly pressure one of his staff to seek the assistance of a master teacher against his own wishes, they can always spend the period idly chatting about the weather with the master knowing that the principal will never be the wiser. Such instances are said to be rare, however.

The reception of master teachers by classroom teachers varies from one master teacher's experience to another. For two of them who were master teachers with the York Central Board, reception was much better then than now. But they attribute this to the fact that York County is so much larger and that, in terms of years, the present programme is still a "babe in the woods". One master teacher finds her reception excellent and improving: "Faces light up when I walk into the school this year." As their function and role become more widely understood, it appears that receptivity to the Programme successively improves with each new school year. Conversations with principals revealed that the reaction to master teachers varies also from school to school. Some schools' staff have used them widely, while one principal indicated that his staff had used master teachers only a few times, largely because the average teaching experience of his staff was over eight years and thus he felt a need for assistance was lacking.

The master teachers' functions are such that their impact is generally upon instructional techniques and methods, rather than on curriculum content. In their own evaluation of their work, they exerted most impact and were most effective in terms of teaching operations. Principals' reactions confirmed this opinion. However, there are occasions on which a master teacher's influence is reflected in the content of a school's curriculum and practices: modern languages and English being two examples. Their actual impact depends upon the willingness of teachers to call upon them for assistance. One master teacher remarked: "I'm received well by many; not too well by a few; not at all by a very few." If this is generally the case, they may be seen to have a significant impact on the system.

The master teachers' opportunity to communicate with fellow teachers is not limited to individual encounters. The workshops that they conduct are an integral part of their strategies for fostering professional development. The format of the workshops varies considerably among master teachers and subject areas, including demonstration teaching classes, discussion groups, lectures from outside speakers, presentation of new materials, evaluation of new theories, etc. Some workshops are highly structured and planned, while others are more loosely organised, depending on the needs they are designed to meet. This year in music there are 28 workshops being offered, four a month for seven months with a different topic each month. All focus upon primary music, as this was requested the previous year by most primary teachers. In general, the workshops seem to be well received, if the fact that in the school year 1970-1971 more than 1,700 teachers signed up for them is any indication.

Our interviewees generally recognised that there are still problems in the Master Teacher Programme. One of these is seen as a lack of a clear role definition and of goals: "Master teachers are so split in terms of goals, expectancies and values that it is hard for them to get together." Similar differences occur among senior administrators, superintendents, principals and teachers as well as to what constitutes the role and functions of a master teacher.

One area of strain seems to relate to the other role of master teachers as part-time classroom teachers. Some master teachers indicated that they experience difficulty in "having two roles, trying to do the two jobs well, and trying to please two hierarchy groups," as one of them put it. Some of them see the normal teaching side of their role as encroaching upon the professional development role, with principals expecting them to become involved in other school activities like the full-time teachers.[16] At the same time, the dual role of the master teacher seems to create administrative problems for principals. They have noted: "Principals and superintendents understand the need for the master teachers' teaching time as a means of 'keeping their feet wet' in an actual teaching situation; as an opportunity for demonstration lessons and for having an impact on a particular staff, but administratively the 40 per cent teaching causes problems."[17]

As we have noted earlier, another problem arises from the fact that initially there was not complete freedom in the selection of master teachers. The act of amalgamating the school boards required that all existing personnel be ensured continued employment in the new board and not be displaced as a result of amalgamation. This meant that the York County Board could implement the Master Teacher Programme as a substitute for curriculum co-ordinators and supervisors only by providing other positions to the people who were employed in these obsolete roles. While a certain amount of selectivity was possible and occurred both as a result of selection on the part of the administrators and of some individuals declining to accept positions as master teachers, it was much less than it would have been if the master teachers could have been totally selected from qualified teachers in the system. The result was that a number of people were appointed who did not meet all the criteria for the master teacher role and who were not committed to the supporting "resource person" role - particularly because some of them had been supervisors or co-ordinators for previous boards. Thus there is some carry-over of the older system into the programme. As they come to understand their new role better, the problem seems to become less significant. The same limitations do not apply to new recruits who are selected on criteria intrinsic to the functions and nature of the master teacher role. This lack of fit between attitude and ability of some master teachers and the requirements of the role has been recognised by the Director, the Superintendent of Operations, the Superintendent of Planning and Development, the Assistant Superintendent of Planning and Development, the superintendents of areas, the principals, and the master teachers themselves.

Many teachers are apparently still not clear about the function of the master teachers. Some principals who participated at an Organisation Development Laboratory noted: "Teachers see the request for master teacher visits as a sign of weakness and the actual visits as indicating a serious problem to other staff members, both of which they feel could affect their rating by the principal." This reluctance stems partly from the behaviour of a few master teachers who are still control oriented, and from an incredulity on the part of some teachers that master teachers really do not report back to anyone. They still tend to view master teachers as third or fourth level line personnel in the hierarchy.

This is another indication that some of the old role definitions and attitudes are transferred to the Master Teacher Programme and limit its effectiveness. One of the reasons why teachers do not understand the master teacher role is that it is much less visible than those of co-ordinators and supervisors in the old system who would actually conduct classes for teachers, or provide them with detailed teaching plans, particularly at the elementary level; something for which the present master teachers have no time and which is contrary to the goal of professional development. Also, in some schools where the principal does not support the programme the teaching staff are hesitant to contact master teachers. One master teacher pointed out another aspect of the problem, namely, that teachers have been isolationists professionally for so long that they are hesitant to change. "By and large," he said, "teachers have been fairly conservative."

Another problem with the programme is the split between elementary and secondary master teachers. Sometimes this expresses itself in a attitude of smugness of secondary master teachers towards elementary teachers, but more commonly of secondary teachers toward elementary master teachers. However, the problem is more functional than personal, as the principals noted: "Most master teachers are qualified either as elementary or secondary teachers and not as both. This inhibits their effectiveness in one panel or another."[18] This relates to the universal complaint that there are not enough master teachers to serve a system as large as York County. To quote the principals again: "The frequency of visits by master teachers to any one school is viewed as insufficient." At the same time, the master teachers complain that they are so busy that they just do not have the time to do the things they feel they should be doing. For some it is a question of the long distances they have to travel from one school to the next and for which their allowance is not really sufficient. "The job," sighed a master teacher, "is always greater than the time, imagination, and energy we have to do it."

Suggestions for eliminating the above problems and improving the Programme are usually the positive side of the criticisms. These suggestions include: holding seminars with staff and line people, that is, have principals, master teachers and teachers confront each other and hash things out; hiring more master teachers to serve areas where they are presently lacking; eliminating authoritarian-type master teachers; giving master teachers a greater role in curriculum determination since they are supposed to be experts; reducing the operations/professional development time-split from 40/60 to 30/70 or 25/75; shifting master teachers between secondary and elementary schools so that they can glean an appreciation of their respective problems; or finally master teachers just being more imaginative and innovative.

Despite its shortcomings, the Master Teacher Programme is highly valued by people in the system. Of all the persons we interviewed, ranging from Trustees to master teachers, not one suggested that the Master Teacher Programme should be abolished. Some considered it in the most laudatory terms. Said one Trustee: "If we invested our money in master teachers, we would have an elite group of professionals. If we spend our money on master teachers ... they will be the innovation, the source of our good ideas. Master teachers will carry the torch of the profession." Others believed that at least the Programme was an indication of the fact that the York Board of Education was endeavouring to live up to its aims, one of which is to help teachers develop professionally. Yet, the final word on the success of the Programme must come from the teachers. Unfortunately, we were unable to sample teacher views. According to the Curriculum Committee chairmen, however, as we have seen in the previous chapter, the master teachers' contribution to these committees is well appreciated.

In short, of the three innovations which are discussed here, the Master Teacher Programme was the one which most people we interviewed felt should be definitely continued. While all interviewees noted problems in the Programme, they all felt that the master teachers had demonstrated their worth and indicated that they have not yet fully realised the potential for helping teachers in the system. All felt that the programme was preferable to the more traditional inspector approach to staff support, since through their classroom teaching, they can "practice what they preach", share the problems which teachers experience and demonstrate the effectiveness of practices they recommend. Of the three advanced practices we studied, the Master Teacher Programme was most commonly believed to have made the transition from an experiment to a regular practice.

Chapter V

THE ORGANISATION DEVELOPMENT UNIT

The Organisation Development Unit (ODU) is another example of how the York County Board seeks to improve its educational system. It is included in the Study as one of the advanced practices of the Board since it relates directly to the innovativeness of the Board.

This chapter will describe how the ODU was established, what its objectives and activities are, what its place in the organisation is, and how it is evaluated by the York County Board of Education.

In his experience as an educational administrator, Sam Chapman had become increasingly aware that most problems in an organisation such as a school system stem from a lack of communication among the people performing their various roles. Having become interested in the human relations approach to the school situation and having done some reading on the topic, Chapman was interested in applying this knowledge to the organisational problems he encountered in his role as Director.

Around 1967, while Superintendent of the York Central Board, Chapman met Dr. John Croft of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, an expert in the area of human relations. They talked about interpersonal development and the improvement of working relationships within organisations. Chapman did some further reading and research and developed the idea of an organisation development unit as an integral part of the organisation of a school system. He had further discussions with Croft and in the process refined the idea. He thought such a unit would be useful since it would have an impact on the system without forcing people to change a great deal overnight.

Central to his idea of how such a unit should function was the notion that it should be resident, that its staff should be readily available so that problems could be solved when they arose, rather than three months or so later. This, however, required adequate financial resources and the budget of the small York Central Board was not large enough to afford such an innovation.

With the amalgamation, the larger budget of this Board provided the basis for the possible adoption and implementation of the idea of an organisation development unit. Chapman discussed the idea with his Administrative Committee to secure their support before proposing the establishment of such a unit to the Board of Trustees. He introduced the idea to the Board as an aspect of staff development and suggested that, initially, the ODU be established by using some of the budget allocation for the Master Teacher Programme. He explained to the Board the role the ODU would have within the organisation and the advantages it would have for the system. Although initially there was not a complete understanding of the idea on the part of the Board, they approved the proposals.

Having received the approval of the Board, Chapman proceeded with the establishment of the ODU. He had proposed a minimum staff of three organisation development experts since only one would clearly be inadequate, and two would be much more likely to run into problems of disagreement and conflict than would three. In consultation with Croft, Chapman recruited three people who had educational experience, who were trained by Croft.

The ODU was instituted directly under the supervision of the Director and not as part of the Planning and Development Division, so as to give it the maximum degree of autonomy possible. It was given its own budget and other units were provided with small amounts to be used in conjunction with ODU.

The ODU is composed of three full-time educators whose backgrounds include teaching, school administration, supervision, teacher training and curriculum development, as well as training and experience in organisational theory and interpersonal relations. During the first year, in the planning and design stages of some of its activities, the ODU consulted with Croft, but as they moved into the second year of operation and progressively came to develop their own operating method, their reliance on him diminished, as was intended.

The general rationale of the ODU is succinctly stated in a Board document designed to explain the Unit to the system. Rather than paraphrase the description, we quote it in full since it clearly describes the conception of the ODU which emerged from our interviews and because, in their own opinion, it best reflects their working assumptions, functions and guiding philosophy:

> "An Organisation, whether it be an aircraft company or a school board, can be said to have five major dimensions:"
>
> 1. The work that is done
> 2. The people who do the work
> 3. The technology which aids in the work
> 4. The administration which structures and co-ordinates the people, the technology and the work
> 5. The environment in which the organisation functions.
>
> "No matter how the organisation functions at any given time, there is a potential for improvement in and between each of these major dimensions. Helping the organisation to develop human potential is the major function of the Organisation Development Unit."
>
> "As any organisation functions, difficulties can develop in and between each of the major dimensions. Helping the organisation precisely to identify its problems and to deal with them in a business-like way is a second major function of the Organisation Development Unit."
>
> "At any time in the operation of an organisation, change can intrude in and between any of the major dimensions of the organisation. As we all know, the tempo of change in education requires that the system develop strategies for the management of planned change and this is a third major function of an Organisation Development Unit."
>
> "In helping the organisation to deal with the development of potential, the solving of problems, and the management of planned change, the Organisation Development Unit works as a consultant to the system. Unlike a management consultant who operates as an outside expert recommending solutions to problems, the ODU assumes that the organisation can be helped to develop its own potential, solve its own problems, and develop its own strategies for managing change. To do this, the OD staff make available to the organisation their skills and the people in the organisation learn to develop mechanisms for the solution of a variety of problems over a sustained period. Thus, the organisation has the facility to produce, implement, and evaluate its own programme."

> "Finally, it is clear that, as the organisation develops its own potential and also learns how to improve its own problem-solving skills, it will become increasingly effective. This is the ultimate goal of the OD staff - to help the organisation to become a more self-reliant, more flexible, more problem-sensing, more problem-solving entity - one which has a large variety of sophisticated ways of coping with events."[19]

ODU strategies are designed to integrate individual needs for growth and development with organisational goals and objectives in order to provide a more effective and satisfying organisation. Some of the findings and assumptions underlying ODU theory and method are the following:

- Work which is organised to meet people's needs as well as to achieve organisational requirements tends to produce the highest productivity and quality of production.
- Individuals whose basic needs are taken care of do not seek a soft and secure environment. They are interested in work, challenge, and responsibility. They expect recognition and satisfying relationships on the job.
- People have a drive toward growth and the development of their potential.
- Persons in groups who are helped to be increasingly open about both positive and negative feelings identify strongly with the goals of the group and with each other. The group becomes increasingly capable of dealing constructively with potentially disruptive issues.
- Personal growth is helped by a relationship which is honest, caring, and non-manipulative.
- Positive change flows naturally from groups which feel a common identification and an ability to influence their environment.[20]

On the basis of these assumptions, and with these general objectives in mind, any ODU project can be seen as having the following objectives:

1. To create an open, problem-solving climate throughout the organisation.

2. To supplement the authority of position with the authority of knowledge and competence.

3. To locate decision-making and problem-solving responsibilities as close to the information sources as possible.

4. To build trust among individuals and groups throughout the organisation.

5. To maximise collaborative efforts.

6. To increase throughout the staff the sense that each person's contribution is important.

7. In doing one's work to focus on the real needs of a situation rather than one "past practices."

8. To increase the ability of work groups to control and to direct themselves.[21]

The ODU works primarily with 'cultures' rather than with individuals. That is, its clients are mainly groups of people working together regularly face-to-face to get something done.

The objective is to help the entire 'culture' or group rather than assisting just one individual within the 'culture'.

"Our objectives are quite different from an operational unit," noted the OD team. "Our objectives are to operate on the culture; to influence in a positive way the norms; to operate on the inner expectations of the people in the organisation so they can increasingly see themselves as able to make a difference and not see themselves as pawns of powerful others."

A 'culture' undertaking an ODU programme is seen as going through the following process:

1. Identification of problems.

2. Setting problem priorities.

3. Development and sharing of knowledge and information concerning these problems. These facts may cover any aspect of the group's functioning: the techniques used to get work done, the patterns of organising for that work, and the regularly occurring interactions which emerge from the use of these techniques and patterns, as well as interpersonal and personal factors in the work situation.

4. Joint action planning, emphasizing alternatives.
5. Implementation and testing of selected alternatives.
6. Periodic review and further action.[21]

Basic to ODU's method is the principle of maximising the resources of the work group itself. They believe that the resourcefulness and creativity within a group is nearly always much greater than the group realises. Releasing this potential is the work of the ODU consultants - they do not present the group with solutions to problems but assist it in developing strategies for problem solution.

The place of the ODU in the York County system is symbolised by the fact that it falls immediately under the Director. Since, as noted earlier, its objectives are to serve the system as a whole, or any part of it, it is not located in any sub-division such as Planning and Development, where it would otherwise logically fit.

While the ODU reports to the Director, it does not report in the sense of submitting full accounts of its activities and their results. The Director is kept fully informed of the activities of the ODU, but only the clients involved in any specific activity share full knowledge of the specific results. This is an important arrangement since the effectiveness of the ODU depends to a large extent on the degree to which it is separated from the line authority of the system so that its clients can have complete confidence that information regarding their problems is strictly confidential and not communicated to line personnel. In this sense, its position in the organisation is similar to that of the Master Teacher Programme.

The ODU responds to requests from both individuals and groups within the system. Sometimes a request or suggestion might come from an administrator who wants an ODU programme for his staff. The ODU always requires that the proposed activity be discussed with the staff, and only if they are willing and agree to the programme is the activity accepted. Even then participation on the part of any individual is voluntary. No one is ever forced to participate. For example, one Superintendent of the Area contacted the ODU and requested that they assist a particular school which was experiencing some difficulties. Before agreeing to undertake this activity, the ODU required that the principal of the school be contacted and his approval granted. When the Superintendent had obtained the principal's go-ahead, it was discovered that the school staff had not been consulted. Only after the teachers indicated that they were also willing did the ODU commence working with the school. This again is an important aspect of the role of the ODU in the system; its effectiveness very much depends upon its non-compulsory nature. It is never sent in unilaterally by a supervisor, but functions only where the 'culture' as a whole agrees to the activity. Another example is a case in which there was conflict between the administration and staff in a school. When the staff approached the ODU with the problem they were sent back with the suggestion that they discuss the matter with the school administrators. It was explained to them that this was not so that they could seek the approval of the administration for their own involvement, but rather that resolution of the conflict would require the voluntary participation of the administration in the project. This strategy served a dual purpose: it tested the teachers'commitment to working out a resolution in this way and it secured the administration's willingness to undertake a similar commitment, thus involving the whole work 'culture' in resolving the conflict. This was subsequently successfully carried out. Both examples highlight the important point that the ODU never goes into a conflict situation unless specifically requested, and then only when all parties concerned are willing to seek a resolution by this means. (Of course, it is not always possible to identify all parties in advance so that some instances occur where some people feel left out).

Like the master teachers, the ODU does not report back to the line organisation on the details of its work with a particular group. Their most immediate feedback is to the group with whom they worked. In some cases, this takes the form of a specific report. The ODU also writes reports on some of its activities for the information of the system as a whole. At the moment, they are working on a report of the Organisation Development Laboratory programme. Usually, these reports first go to the Board of Trustees and are then published in the system. An indirect form of report, which provides direct feedback to the relevant parts of system of some of the results of the ODU's activities, are the proposals generated by participants when they return to their regular responsibilities. Such proposals have to go through the normal channels of approval in the system or have at least to be communicated to the people involved. While it is not always possible to trace the origin of a proposal to the ODU the Unit believes that this form of feedback has perhaps the greatest impact on the system. This relates to their general approach to their role in the system where they believe that, in addition to their impact on the specific group or 'culture' with whom they work, there will be "a kind of natural spinout" as the people who have benefited from their work interact with others in the system. Through this kind of "lighthousing" their impact becomes generalised and diffused in the County.

The ODU was established and staffed in the fall of 1969. During the first year the three staff members spent much of their time on planning, self-development and team-building. It was, as they explained, a learning year. One of the members left after about eight months to accept a position involving organisation development work with the Department of Education and was replaced with another of John Croft's trainees who was familiar with the origins and development of the ODU. The following list of the ODU's major activities for its first two years of operation was provided by them:

Year One (school year 1969-70)

1. In August and September of 1969, they were involved in a team-building exercise using encounter tapes. The participants were the ODU members, John Croft, three upper-level members at the Board office, a Superintendent of Area, a School Principal and a master teacher. The selection was designed to obtain a cross-section.

2. In September 1969 they worked with an administrative group in one area. Participants were the Superintendent of Area, the Area Superintendent and the Business Officer.

3. Work with clerical staff in two area offices.

4. Three sessions of principals' meetings in one area.

5. Ongoing work with Administrative Committee, mentioned in Chapter I.

6. Six sessions with twelve Business Officers.

7. In November 1969 they conducted what is known as a "Cousins Workshop," which is a human relations laboratory in which anyone in the organisation from secretaries to guidance personnel can take part.

8. Two sessions for training group leaders for a public conference that the Board of Trustees was planning to hold. In conjunction with this, the ODU had several sessions with the Board's Communications Committee.

9. Two workshops for guidance personnel in the system.

10. In the winter of 1969 and the spring of 1970 they attended principals' meetings in each area and conducted demonstrations for them.

11. Demonstrations of their work for the staff of four different schools.

12. In April 1970 they began preliminary work on a principals' conference that was to be held later in the year.

13. In the spring of 1970 they held a second Cousins Workshop.

14. In May they attended their first Morton Laboratory at West Point along with eight members of the organisation. (See below for further elaboration).

15. In late May and early June they were involved in a conflict resolution among staff.

Also during their first year they held weekly planning and training meetings with Dr. Croft which lasted from approximately 8 p.m. to 3 a.m.

Year Two (school year 1970-71)

1. They ran a conference for all the principals of York County in August of 1970, which was a major undertaking.

2. In late August and early September they worked with a top administrative group of the Sudbury Board of Education of Ontario.

3. An unsuccessful twelve-hour workshop with one secondary school was conducted.

4. In late September they attended another Morton Laboratory, but this time it was to undergo training. They also began collecting and writing up outcomes of the principals' conference.

5. Engaged in talks with the Director for a diagnosis of work required and joint planning and setting their objectives for the coming year. For them this was extremely helpful.

6. In October, the ODU was invited to conduct a two-and-a-half day residential workshop with master teachers which, after considerable collaborative planning, was held in November.

7. In the fall of 1970 they participated in the first quarterly meeting called by principals to discuss the results of their August conference and to continue to function as a group. Both principals and administrators were involved.

8. At the beginning of 1971 they participated in another quarterly meeting of principals. (Their participation here was minimal).

9. Since the beginning of 1971, they have completed three formal Organisation Development Laboratories of two weeks each, for a total of six weeks. Two were run by Robert Morton with ODU help, and the third was run by the ODU itself.

10. Two residential workshops, designed by Morton, were undertaken for the benefit of the Trustees.

11. In March and April they did further work with the Administrative Committee.

12. Recently, principals and personnel in psychological services from one area and a number of principal candidates underwent a Morton residential laboratory.

13. Analysis of data resulting from Morton Laboratories has been studied and written up.

14. One of the members of the ODU acted as an observer for a workshop run by the staff of a school.

15. There is ongoing work with a particular school staff currently trying to resolve some difficulties, as well as ongoing work with a principal and his assistant in a secondary school.

From this list of activities we can see what the ODU has done in the last two years. While most of their activities have involved working with administrators with a wide range of different groups within the organisation, they have also assisted teachers and support staff. The ODU state that they hope to be able to work with more teachers, secretaries and clerks so that they can be of service to all levels in the organisation. Their heavy concentration with administrative personnel so far has been intentional, since these are the people who, in their words, "cast the longest shadow over the organisation."

As noted, one of their major interventions in the area of personal growth was the Organisation Skills Laboratory held at the Sherway Inn from 7 December - 12 December 1969. This was an intensive programme for the personal growth of the twenty-nine participants. Following the lab, which was only the first part of the work, the ODU did a follow-up programme of personal interviews and, where required, provided further help which is typical of their operating procedure. The following two examples, reported by the ODU, demonstrate the ways in which the workshop training and the follow-up benefited the participants and York County.

A principal had had a problem with one of his teachers over a period of about two years. During that time he had been unable to get the teacher to relate to children as he thought the teacher should. Previous attempts to deal with the problem had resulted in hostile feelings between the teacher and the principal. After his laboratory experience he was able to communicate with the teacher, and succeeded in resolving the problem in a mutually satisfactory way.

Two teachers report a considerable improvement in their ability to deal with difficult students. They believe that their laboratory experiences have made them more aware of the needs of these pupils so that they are able to handle them with less emotional stress on themselves and on the pupils.

In the second year John Croft introduced the ODU staff to the work of Robert Morton, already mentioned in the list of activities, a business consultant on organisational problems stemming from human interaction. As a consequence they and eight other staff members of the Board went to West Point in May 1970 for an organisation development laboratory with Dr. Morton. In the fall of 1970 the ODU staff went back for further training and at this point started to adapt the Morton Laboratory, which was designed mainly for business management, for use in an educational system. This educational laboratory is now being implemented with several 'cultures' in the system, and data now available indicates that they have been relatively successful with this endeavour. So far about one hundred and twelve people have participated in the laboratories, including all the top administrators and all but two of the trustees.

When necessary, individual ODU members will take on a client if it is impossible or generally undesirable to involve the whole team. However, they do not become individualised since a daily log is kept so that all three members are informed of their colleagues' activities. One of the basic components in their methodology is continual discussion with one another regarding activities taken on either as a group or as individuals. They work as a team: "The rationale here is that we have found from our own working together that we tend to trigger each other. Collectively we seem to be able to spiral toward a synergic kind of outcome."

There has been no formal evaluation of the ODU and no such evaluation is presently being planned. We have, however, asked the interviewees for their own evaluation of the ODU and its work. In most cases these individuals had the opportunity to participate in the work of the ODU or to closely observe its work and effects. These evaluations are therefore subjective, informal and unsystematic. Nevertheless, they reflect the evaluative atmosphere in the system within which the ODU has to function.

First, let us look at the ODU's self-evaluation and then turn to the views of others for cross-validation. In response to the question, "In your evaluation, what has been the impact of the ODU on the system as a whole?", the ODU responded that they had made a general impact all over the organisation. "In particular, we affected ... the awareness of administrators that they had not been communicating with people and the importance of communicating their intentions to people and sharing data." In brief, they felt that their major influence had been on the administration and on the general decision-making process and communications. The evaluations of the administrative personnel confirmed this view.

One of the top officials indicated that the ODU has made the largest impact on the system of all the innovations introduced by the Board. As a result of its work with the principals, they are identifying with the organisation's goals instead of just their own school's goals, as they tended to do prior to involvement with the ODU. He also observed better working relationships between people who have been involved with the ODU. At the same time, he shared the opinion of many others that it is still too early to evaluate the impact of the ODU on the system, and suggested that it would require another two to three years to determine whether it had a major effect.

Another centrally placed official has observed the effect of the ODU on the system. People are interrelating and communicating and using the skills which they have learned in ODU laboratories. This was evident at the level of principals relating much better to each other, to their students, to their staff and to parents, as well as at the central level where it is evident in much more efficient Administrative Committee meetings.

Another central official confirmed the observation that the ODU has had an impact on communication in the system by opening people up to each other. This makes the job of the administrator easier since he can communicate with people about implementing new systems and integrating older ones in a co-operative way. People now tend to protect their own field less, and are willing to consider the good of the system as a whole. The importance of the work of the ODU is especially evident in the fact that there is a marked reduction of fear in the system. There is little hesitation now among most people to be open and honest and to speak their minds without fear of retribution of any kind.

An example of this non-intimidating atmosphere occurred at a committee meeting of principals and the Director. As the story goes, at one point, after the meeting had gone on for some time, Mr. Chapman called for a coffee break without inquiring if this was satisfactory to all involved. All started to rise, except one principal of a small elementary school who remarked: "I haven't finished yet. There's a point I wish to make." All sat down, including the Director, and listened. No smugness, condescension or intimidation resulted; the principal's point was made, and the atmosphere was changed. Still another central official confirmed this view and stated that he considers the ODU as one of the greatest change factors operating throughout the system. The same official had participated in ODU activities and confessed: "The ODU has changed me more than anything else that has happened in many years."

This view of the ODU is also shared by the superintendents of area who are members of the Administrative Committee and who also work directly and closely with the principals in the system. All of them reported that the ODU activities have contributed to much greater openness in the system, have reduced fear of superiors and have in general resulted in the much more efficient functioning of the system. They feel that most people who are still sceptical or negative about the ODU are those who have not yet participated in its activities.

The principals in the system who were interviewed generally reflected the same evaluation of the ODU. Even those who confessed that it did not help them much personally, observed that it contributed to a much better understanding and openness among principals. One of them said: "There is a great deal more trust right down the line." Another stated: "I think it's fantastic. It helps all of us to analyse our own practices, attitudes, and positions in the system which can't do us anything but good". Yet he felt that the ODU's influence was very subtle and unobservable since "it creates a situation where we can learn ourselves." Several principals reported that some of their staff were involved with the ODU with the same results.

So far we have reported on the personnel working in the system. What about the Board of Trustees which has the ultimate authority, which decided to establish the ODU and has the power to abolish it? It is significant that the same evaluation of the ODU, the same perceptions of its role, of its essential functions and its effects upon the system were noted by the Trustees interviewed in the study. Most of them were ready to state that they tend to see the ODU as a permanent part of the organisation, budget permitting. One of them stated this view succinctly by saying that if the ODU should be discontinued it would crop up in some other form since a large organisation needed something like it.

They also confirmed the view that opposition to the ODU came from people who have not experienced its work and who were questioning the cost of the operation and its effectiveness in terms of dollars. This attitude is reportedly much less prevalent now than at the outset.

"OD had to fight an uphill battle," said one Trustee. "They haven't won yet, but they're winning."

On the whole, then, the informal evaluation of the ODU is overwhelmingly positive. However, if not opposition, there is still a reluctance on the part of some groups within the system to use the ODU. Generally, their feeling is that while it may help people deal with interrelationships, it is not useful in dealing with everyday practical problems. Thus, just recently, out of a committee of ten principals only two were receptive to the idea of bringing in the ODU to assist the committee in their work. The other eight felt that since the committee was dealing with everyday, practical administrative problems which principals face, the ODU would not be helpful. Other negative reactions to the ODU revolve around the issue of whether the cost of their services is compensated by the beneficial results of their activities, especially at a time - like now - when funds are limited. At the same time, almost all interviewees admitted that it was probably too early to evaluate the impact of the ODU on the system and that it would only be properly done after a number of years. The OD team sees the need for a long-range evaluation and has set themselves a high standard in this regard: "Our ultimate goal is to work ourselves out of a job. We would do this by making the system self-reliant, by people learning to resolve problems and conflicts because they have developed sound methodologies."

Chapter VI

THE MANAGEMENT OF INNOVATION AND EVALUATION

The evidence from this case study of a regional educational authority suggests that innovativeness does not depend on a formal approach to the process of innovation, on the establishment of certain procedures and mechanisms by which all innovations have to be handled. Rather, what stands out clearly is the impression that the single most important factor is the normative climate or atmosphere supporting and encouraging innovation and the organisational flexibility and openness which allows innovation to proceed without unnecessary organisational interferences or inhibitions. Because of the importance of this observation it requires further elaboration in this chapter.

The process of developing and introducing various innovations in the York County Board has not to any great extent followed an identifiable pattern. The variation in the approaches taken results from the flexibility of organisational communication patterns and from the understanding that each innovation, being unique at least to some extent, requires its own mode of implementation.

Variability and flexibility characterise York County's approach to the several stages in the innovative process, which researchers often identify, such as problem identification, solution formulation, solution adoption, implementation, evaluation, and diffusion. These conceptual stages are not always readily identifiable in the process as it occurs in practice. Nevertheless, we attempt here to construct an account of how the York County Board handles the various stages of the innovation process.

Problems have been identified with help from teacher groups, home and school groups, parent groups, political bodies like the municipal councils, principals, the Research Office, and various administrators. Although no formal structure has been created for the identification of problems, several communication mechanisms have evolved to assist in the process. They are the

Area Advisory Committees, which are designed to aid multidirectional communication, and the quick flow of information up the line organisation by way of the principals or the administrative staff. It has been suggested that most problems are usually identified from the source where they hurt the most. In many cases, the problem is recognised to be a characteristic weakness of organised formal education systems and that as such its presence is intuitively sensed for some time before attention is specifically drawn to it.

The process of solution formulation includes the consideration of alternative proposals. Such activity is encouraged in York County as evidenced not only by policy statements but also by the substantial efforts by the Board to develop viable means for community and staff participation in educational matters. We should note that innovative solutions to problems are usually formulated and adopted in the course of role performance at all levels. In the case of county-wide innovations, spontaneity exists in that the search for solutions begins almost simultaneously with the recognition of a problem. Solution formulation is highly unstructured because: one, systematic comparison of all possible alternatives is not always possible; two, standardized forms of evidence are not uniformly employed; three, a great deal of formulation depends upon contributions from many different sources. For county-wide innovations, the process of formulating solutions seems to have been telescoped into a procedure where ideas from various sources are fed into the Division of Planning and Development, which, in conjunction with the Administrative Committee, formulates a proposal. At this point in the process competing alternatives have generally been sorted out. Although the Administrative Committee's respect for the judgement and ability of the chief advocates of a particular proposal is usually high, the Committee's role in the adoption process becomes one of intensive review, constructive criticism and clarification before it endorses the adoption.

As was noted, the process of solution adoption proceeds at various administrative levels for implementation within specific spheres of authority. In the case of county-wide innovations, solution adoption is a little more structured in that the Administrative Committee and the Board of Trustees are always involved. During the phase of solution adoption, communications procedures are sufficiently open that any disagreements can be voiced and taken into consideration before any final action is taken. This open expression of any opposition can, of course, prevent adoption and otherwise serves to minimise the possibility that it will manifest itself through either intransigence or subversion during implementing and diffusion stages. Consensus is sought within the Administrative Committee in the realisation that the success of the proposal, once adopted, is to a great extent dependent upon the support and enthusiasm of all concerned. The superintendents of area are particularly important since they are responsible for managing the early stages of implementation and for the continuing success of the programme in its later stages. Where budgetary considerations are involved a recommendation for ratification or formal adoption is made by the Administrative Committee to the Board of Trustees. They may discuss and adopt, or may refer the recommendation back for further consideration by the Committee.

Once adopted, the innovation is usually implemented by or under the supervision of the administration, depending on its nature. Attempts are made before, during and after adoption to ensure that all participants in the new practice understand the purpose and intended operation of the practice. This preliminary preparation is handled by various people involved in the previous three stages of innovation. In the case of county-wide innovations, superintendents of area contact principals, who inform teachers of the new practice. Any necessary co-ordination originates from the office of the Superintendent of Area or the Superintendent of Planning and Development, as the case may be. A trial-run or practice-method of implementation, evaluation and then diffusion, is sometimes used, depending upon the type of innovation which is being implemented. In the cases of Thornlea, Don Head, and the open-plan schools it is possible to discern a "trial-run" stage in that only one or more schools of a particular kind were established and are being closely watched or studied to determine whether more of the same kind should be established. County-wide innovations are by definition diffused throughout the County when implemented. The Curriculum Committees were initially created throughout the entire county. The Master Teacher Programme, on the other hand, did have a 'trial-run' period, in effect, owing to its previous operation at York Central. But it was similarly diffused County-wide when adopted by the York County Board of Education. The ODU is, because of its particular nature, not a suitable innovation for diffusion. Thus, there is no single formal structure for the implementation-diffusion of new practices, although there is some suggestion that the Board may be moving in that direction. At present, implementation follows a varied course depending upon the needs of the particular innovation at hand.

Evaluations of the innovations in terms of their advantage over alternative means or in terms of their intended effects have as yet not been systematic or organised. The fact, however, that there is a commitment to evaluate is evident in the existence of the Research Office. The nature of the evaluative process varies with the particular practice and the personnel involved. It is usually an informal and continuous process. One aspect in the evaluation of a practice is its comparison with possible alternatives. Evaluation of practices in terms of functional approximation to their intended ideal proceeds also informally. In the case of Curriculum Committees it is generally felt that they have realised their potential only to a limited degree due to lack of teacher participation. More enthusiasm surrounds the evaluation of the Master Teacher Programme, although central administrators, superintendents, principals and master teachers have recognised difficulties. The ODU is considered by most of the people we interviewed to have shown its potential success. One staff member noted that it may succeed by working itself out of a job.

Generally, the evaluation of programmes is expected to come from those most involved in them. It is, for example, expected that the ultimate evaluation of the Master Teacher Programme will come from the classroom teachers who are to benefit from their work and services. All three of the exemplary practices studied are so loosely structured and flexible that changes are always possible. In the York County Board, evaluation follows a pattern as flexible and diverse as the innovations themselves.

Having looked at the process of managing innovations, it is of considerable interest to understand the degree of intent or purpose with which the Board has established itself and continues to establish itself a leader in innovation. Generally, the trustees interviewed suggested that it is not essential or even important to be a leader in innovation as an end unto itself. Rather innovations should be a vehicle for improving the quality of education within the system. To the extent that the Board has the resources innovations should be pursued, not as a form of competition with other boards, but as an attempt to improve education. Realising that since the Board has but one chance with each student, that since it is committed to the ideal of professional self-development, and that since it possesses "the resources and talent to be a leader in an age when educational reform is mandatory," then York County does, indeed, have - in the view of trustees - an obligation to pursue educational innovations. As has become evident throughout the report, much of the credit for the innovative atmosphere in York County has gone to a few key individuals: the Director and the people he hired, especially the Superintendent of Planning and Development.

In this context it is interesting to note that in considering the extent of the innovative pace, the board has fixed no set limits. Yet, at the same time, it should not get "too far ahead of the community," in the process of leading it. One trustee expressed the attitude that "nothing is sacred," that in an intentionally 'untidy' Board which allows for diversity there is unlimited potential for innovation, but that innovation must be controlled; another expressed the feeling that innovations must follow the community to some degree since innovations cannot just be forced on people; instead they must be discussed to keep the recipient groups informed.

Principals generally felt that innovation in York County had proceeded at a reasonable rate. In discussing the speed of educational change, they noted: one, that the implementation of innovation had to be geared to the particular school community - should "only proceed a little faster than the community is ready to accept;" two, that innovations must proceed at the 'common-sense' pace in order to avoid the "pendulum effect;" and third, that schools should be wary of innovations that are gimmicks, and should not jump on the bandwagon too quickly. One principal felt that unleashing the potential of so many teachers might make for too rapid a pace in innovations but preferred to have too much going on than not enough. Although caution marks the principals' view of innovation, they support the innovative spirit, and praise the openness and flexibility of the system as it supports innovation.

In identifying the organisational, personal or systematic factors which most clearly limit innovation in the specific situation of the York County Board, a variety of viewpoints were expressed. It is generally recognised that limited finance hinders innovation, although there is considerable feeling that budget is not necessarily the primary limiting factor. Many references were made by persons in various positions to the innovative potential and limits inherent in human resources: time to plan or innovate, "the ability of the individual to be creative", "communication within the total system", "energy and wit", "imagination, ideas and stamina", "the generation of enthusiasm", "knowledge and character", "the status-quo", "traditional attitudes", "fear of change", "reluctance of teachers to stick their necks out" and "over-work". Very few references were made to limiting influence from the community, government controls, or the necessity for obtaining Board approval.

Innovation, it is felt, should proceed from "the bottom up." The philosophy which underlies the innovations in the York County Board is that teachers should be able to play a greater part in governing their own professional affairs. They must have the chance to initiate, not just react. Administrators attempt to set up a framework for the exercise of teachers' freedom, which is said to be "so broad that teachers can't see the boundaries." Since amalgamation in 1969, it seems that the atmosphere in the Board has steadily improved. At the outset there was considerable hostility to the new Board,largely, it seems, because of the parochialism of some of the units which were forced to amalgamate. There was some suspicion of the Director and of other administrative personnel who were formerly identified with the largest of the amalgamating boards, the York Central District High School Board. Although it was suggested that some hostility still exists, the clear consensus is that working relationships have improved tremendously.

All members of the Administrative Committee described the working atmosphere in very favourable terms. It is "conducive to informality and a levelling of feeling;" they work as a team "where all have general responsibility for the ongoing process," and strive for consensus on matters before going ahead; there is a willingness to support people, with interactions being deemed "informal, reasonable and open." Where "tightness" and some "mistrust" previously prevailed people now are "free to speak out", "people's doors are always open", and now the organisation is characterised by "more than rapport - people are proud of the organisation".

A policy on the writing of policies has been agreed. Its purpose is to involve "all those concerned who could have a worthwhile contribution to make" in the proposal, discussion and systematic review of Board policies. It particularly seeks to involve principals, who have a "special stake in this matter." Entitled "The Writing of Policies", it has established that in normal circumstances, where there is no need for rush, only "proposed policy" will be written. It will then undergo the normal process of review and "will then receive wide circulation in advance of its final consideration by the Board." Three months later, before the final policy is adopted, different points of view concerning the "proposed policy" will be presented directly to the Board by interested individuals or groups, if so desired. Also, any policy established solely upon the advice of senior staff will be reviewed after six months, with input derived from submissions by staff or polls by senior staff of those concerned being considered. Principals will conduct a "methodical review" of all existing policy which effects operations, and will review all new policy. This master policy on policy, then, is clearly designed to maximise involvement of groups at the highest level of decision-making, namely the Board.

The change of atmosphere from one of up-tightness and mistrust to one of freedom, "people-orientedness," and lack of constraint, is a developmental process ("miracles don't take place") that has been attributed to two sources: the Director ("people feel they can try to innovate because Mr. Chapman wants this") and the Organisation Development Unit's laboratories, which have been described as "a real salvation." The major areas defined as still in need of more openness and freedom are relations between superintendents of area and principals ("some still won't confront me," said one superintendent), and between superintendents of area and teachers. "Teachers view administrators with some suspicion," and are not quite ready to give them complete trust, said another superintendent. There is still "quite a gap," a "questioning attitude: 'Do you really?'" in the teachers' working atmosphere. A response to this query was seemingly provided when one trustee volunteered: "This Board is accessible because of the openness of the Director and a good number of the trustees. A lot of classroom teachers know them."

Principals have generally evaluated the innovative efforts of the Board favourably. One noted that one indicator of the success of the innovative process is that very few principals have left the system since the new Board came into existence; hence, he concluded that principals are satisfied. Another mentioned that the Board is providing good environments for innovation and added: "That's why I'm here." Another applauded the movement in the direction of returning some control to the community, and felt that the Director's and the Planning and Development staff's belief in "symbiosis with the community" is good.

More specific evaluations concerning particular innovations contained some references to failures. The Board has, said one principal, "made some mistakes," although, overall, things are handled well. Some innovations have failed, said another, because there was insufficient manpower for projects, and feedback mechanisms were inadequate. Some suggested that an evaluation of the Board's efforts could only be made with regard to specific innovations. In describing the "full range of innovation," one principal noted that "the most substantial from the long-range view is .... the creation of an atmosphere of a sort of freedom to think and take a step by yourself." Another principal heralded the establishment of new administrative roles and educational innovations like Thornlea as specific achievements, but he believed that the Board needed to further evaluate "the role of the principal." Therefore the impression emerges that most principals have a very cautious and very situation-oriented appraisal of the Board's activities.

Various people within the organisation have attempted to evaluate the influence of outside agencies on the innovative process. One key administrator noted that such influence can be positive or negative. Pressures from the outside can help to focus attention on needs, but they can also arouse a protective posture among some administrators which can only hamper innovation. However, "contact with thinking people" is conducive to innovation. The Research Officer felt that his contacts with outside agencies and innovation in that the research conducted broadens his knowledge and may help the County to avoid superficial answers. Particularly influential are the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and York University, since they both submit their findings to the Board and, occasionally, to staff at open workshops. Influence is also indicated by the interest shown in the innovative efforts of the York County Board by outside groups (the Department of Education, OISE, and other boards of education). Such interest has been positive and encouraging.

Innovation does not proceed without problems. Some of the major problems which have faced the innovators and adapters in York County are due to the shock or the surprise with which some people came to understand the innovative spirit and its implications for their role performance. One administrator pointed to the fear of some teachers and staff to participate actively and make decisions, to the tendency of teachers to see administrators as those people with the right answers, and to the expectation by teachers of authoritarianism on the part of the administrators. However, problems of incredulity on the part of teachers of the openness of the system were anticipated. It was judged that only time could eliminate such factors. One Superintendent of Area suggested that many teachers were still "testing" the system. Another staff member remarked that opposition to innovation is often unconscious on the part of people within the system; another administrator spoke of reaching a "saturation point of rapid and many changes" which caused some innovations to lie dormant; and yet another spoke of the resistance that results from impatient pushing for change, since innovation cannot be ordered but involves a slow process of activating interest and commitment. Another pointed to a cleavage between upper management and the process of education as a day-to-day operation. A rather drastic change in the roles of some principals, who used to deal directly with the board but who now work through an administrative hierarchy, was cited as producing problems because of the total strangeness of the new pattern. As noted elsewhere, limitations to innovation can also emanate from the Department of Education, in that Department guidelines potentially can restrict some types of innovations, particularly in curriculum. Some opposition thought to be inevitable is from the supporting community, especially to those innovations which are thought to cost too much.

Other recognisable problems have been suggested earlier: the fact that the staff was "thrown together" and thus not accustomed to being a part of an innovative decision-making process; the communications gaps between senior administrators and teachers; and the amalgamation of geographically distant sections of the County into a single unit. This latter problem was particularly recognisable in the specific situation of Sutton District High School, which is located at the north-easterly extremity of the County. Historically, their feeling of isolation and loss of autonomy was representative of a more widespread feeling across the

County upon amalgamation. Attempts were made to involve the personnel of that school, along with those of other schools, in Board matters to afford them a sense of participation in the York County educational community.

One major barrier to the achievement of the Board's Aims and Objectives is the difficulty in communicating to teachers that their increased participation and responsibility in educational matters in the County is truly desired. This similarly applies to the community at large which in some instances still suspects the Board's activities and consequently views it as a kind of opposition. Other problems are more organisational or structural, such as adjusting people to a larger system, changing school attendance area boundaries, equalising the taxation assessments in the County, or dealing with the impending loss of some southern schools. One trustee mentioned that physical facilities are not everywhere up to standard; another considered the determination of whether the school system would be two or three-tiered as yet a major problem to be resolved. Overall, equality of educational opportunity still remains an unrealised ideal in York County. But by not becoming a "faceless administration," by not acquiring a "fat-cat" image, but by taking an experimental and probing yet constructive approach, these problems are hoped to be resolved, as a trustee expressed it:

> "It is a good thing for us to be making a lot of our people uncomfortable. I think it is a good sign... It would not be a healthy sign, to my mind, if people were not uncomfortable....maybe the people who are uncomfortable will...make a professional dedication to become professionals and not just technicians."

The innovations which York County has initiated or adopted have had considerable impact on various aspects of the organisation, the greatest impact has probably been on the structure of the organisation as we have seen in the previous chapter. Changes in responsibility have occurred to the extent that master teachers have assumed some of the previous supportive functions of superintendents of area and other line personnel. Teachers, through the Curriculum Committees, are also beginning to assume some responsibility in curriculum development. The decision-making process has been influenced substantially. This, in the judgement of many, is tied closely to the changed communication patterns which have resulted from the work of the ODU. Cited as changes in the decision-making process are: far more openness within the organisation in discussing and defining problems; more responsiveness and awareness of each other's shortcomings; more group cohesion, trust and a willingness to share; in short, an opening up of communication channels. One staff member remarked that people treat each other differently; another noted that it is now possible for a teacher to tell the Director that "he doesn't know what he's doing." Better communication has resulted between principals, who play a crucial role and who are realising the organisational importance of this role. While it is understood that such impact cannot be measured quantitatively and that more time is needed to estimate the impact of certain specific innovations, nevertheless most of the administrative staff indicated that they sensed a profound impact on the system resulting from the innovative efforts of the Board.

Chapter VII

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION

In the previous chapters we have described the York County Board of Education, several of its exemplary innovative practices and the way it goes about managing innovations. Throughout these chapters we have refrained from making any evaluations ourselves or offering interpretations of the data in terms of some conceptual or theoretical scheme. In a case study of this kind it is essential that the description of the case be as objective and clear as possible, and not be clouded by the imposition of a particular conceptual framework which might require that the data be forced into certain categories and that the organic relationships between various aspects of the situation described be lost sight of. However, it would be unfortunate if the report did not contain some indication of our interpretation of the data and our overall evaluation of the innovation situation at the York County Board. This chapter is a very brief attempt to do this.

First of all, as is clear from the previous chapter, the process of innovation in the York County Board is a highly diverse and mostly unstructured process. Consistent with the organisational approach of the Board, there are no set patterns and formal structures for handling all innovations, and for requiring that all innovations follow a certain set of procedures. However, this does not mean that the process is entirely haphazard. On the whole, it is our impression that the organisation suitably handles the problems of innovation and employs adequate strategies in effecting change. These strategies are consistent with the philosophy of the Board that involves devolution of authority, considerable autonomy in all role positions and the belief that if people are treated as professionals and given sufficient responsibility they will be able to make their best contribution to the system as a whole. This type of approach to the management of the change process means that it assists people rather than directs them in handling change. In this sense the term "management" is perhaps not the most appropriate. More accurately, the organisation orchestrates change processes. That is, it endeavours to seek the best contribution on the part of every individual involved and to combine them into the most beneficial effect for the system as a whole. Someone more seriously concerned with management in the sense of insisting on centralised control, planning, structure and efficiency throughout the process of innovation may be more critical of the operation of the Board. However, we are of the opinion that the Board's flexible and sometimes eclectic approach is, on the whole, more facilitating of innovation in education than a strictly formal and centralised approach, insisting on prescribed procedures and methods of managing the innovation process.

The most striking feature which emerged from the study is that the York County Board has consciously promoted an atmosphere in which innovation is considered desirable and normatively expected at all levels in the organisation, and where there is at the same time a strong commitment to carefully evaluate and consider ideas before they are adopted and implemented. On the other hand, there is certainly no evidence that this is a laissez-faire attitude allowing innovation to run rampant with everyone jumping on the bandwagon without considering the costs or the ultimate effects of innovations on the organisation as a system or on the educational process.

In our opinion, the York County Board has a considerable capacity for innovation. The level of training and skill of its staff is certainly adequate to handle the types of innovation which have been introduced into the system. In particular, in the case of the exemplary innovations that we have described, there is ample evidence of the careful selection of properly trained and competent staff to implement the innovations. This is likewise true for the selection of the administrative staff. In both cases, the York County Board organisation can be viewed as an example of careful selection of staff for the purpose of maximising the capacity of the system to change as the exigencies and needs of the population change. This is particularly true when we remember that amalgamation of the earlier boards two years ago did anything but provide a free hand in the selection of staff. In spite of this limitation the York County Board seems to have put together a staff that agrees on the desirability of maintaining a climate favourable to innovation for the purpose of improving the quality of education in the County and to achieve the set of aims and objectives developed by the Board. Consequently, the York County

Board seems to be able to invent or adapt solutions to problems it encounters and not simply to rely on ideas that have been developed elsewhere. The Organisation Development Unit, the Master Teachers Programme, and the Curriculum Committees are examples of the Board's capacity both to develop its own ideas and to adapt ideas to specific educational needs.

In large part this innovative capacity stems from the organisational arrangement that the Board has designed for this purpose. The establishment of a separate division of Planning and Development with Research and Planning Offices and with a competent staff who could devote their full time to considerations of upgrading the quality of staff and practices in the system is but one example of how the organisational structure is designed to aid innovations. Both the Master Teacher Programme and the Curriculum Committees fall within this Division and again both represent examples of the explicit allocation of staff time to innovative activities or to activities that constitute innovations within the system.

As far as we could determine, the Board has always made adequate financial provision for the innovations that it adopted. The Organisation Development Unit, for example, was created as a separate structure with adequate financial resources being provided. However, in the case of the Curriculum Committees one of the basic problems relating to their incapacity to get off the ground and function as they were intended is that teachers are expected to allocate some of their spare time to the work of these committees. In our opinion, this constitutes an inadequate allocation of staff time on the part of the Board to this particular innovation. We agree with the Board's assessment of the importance of these committees, not only for the professional development of teachers but also for innovations in curriculum and the development and upgrading of educational practices in general. Therefore, in our opinion, it would be fully justified to allow teachers time off during the normal school day to work on these committees. There also seems to be a time allocation problem in the Master Teacher Programme with respect to the amount of time spent on classroom instruction as opposed to professional development.

If a single fact stands out in this report more than anything else it is the openness of this Board to change by way of seeking input of new ideas from both inside and outside the system.

This is explicitly incorporated in the Aims and Objectives of the Board and, as far as we have observed, the functioning of the organisation as a whole reflects this approach. The School of the Arts is a good example of how the Board actively solicited outside resources for ideas to develop another of the system's innovations. This is also true of the way in which Mr. Chapman, the Director, approached the initiation of both the Master Teacher Programme and the Organisation Development Unit. He relied quite heavily on outside sources for his ideas in developing these practices. Moreover, he has shown an impressive capacity to adapt them to the needs of the system in which they have been implemented. This openness on the part of the Board includes a willingness to change its objectives and to accept feedback from all levels within the system and from outside it, and to consider further changes in the practices that have been introduced. A prime example of this openness is the policy on the writing of policies as a way in which the Board seeks reactions to the new ideas and new practices that it proposes to introduce into the system.

The structuring of change efforts in the York County Board is consistent with their philosophy of organisation. There is careful planning, diagnosis and goal-setting in connection with planned major innovations. This is shown by the innovations studied in this report, as well as by the new schools which have been introduced to create a greater degree of variety of educational experiences for students in the system. The Division of Planning and Development is the organisational embodiment of this particular approach on the part of the Board. This is likewise reflected in the work of the Administrative Committee and the Co-ordinator of Information Systems.

The evaluation of the outcomes of innovations has also been rather loose and informal, again consistent with the normal operation of the Board, although there are some plans for a more systematic evaluation of some innovations. However, we noticed a lack of the same degree of systematic concern with evaluation as exists with respect to the planning, diagnosis and goal-setting aspects of the process. In the case of one of the innovative schools, Thornlea, some studies have been conducted by the Research Officer with the intent of perhaps not so much evaluating the successfulness of Thornlea as of providing feedback to the people involved in this school in order to help them in adjusting to the changing needs and contingencies arising in connection with it. It is our impression that the processes of informal evaluation function quite well in the system and that there is a strong concern with evaluation in this sense. However, this remains mainly impressionistic and subjective and has seldom constituted an organised effort in the sense that certain people, even on an informal basis, were assigned the responsibility of making a systematic evaluation of a certain practice and reporting back to the Director or the Board.

The Board seems to handle fairly well the problems of relating to the various constituencies that are important for its effectiveness. Its links with other resource systems such as the universities and educational research organisations have been noted above and are judged by us as being very strong and open and of great importance in maintaining the degree of innovativeness that the Board has exhibited. The relationships among staff and administration in the office and throughout the system seem to us, on the whole, to follow the norm of participation and involvement of all parties on more or less a peer basis. The degree of hierarchical structuring of authority which there is, is necessary in all organisations. From what various interviewees said, it appears to us that the Board has managed to diminish this element to its bare essentials and to structure it in such a way that it does not constitute a serious threat to the ability of the system to capitalise on the contributions that people at all levels can and should make to the operation of the system. The Organisational Development Unit has made a particularly critical contribution to establishing these types of communication channels by opening them up and removing many of the factors that seem to have cluttered them in the past. The Board and the central office seem to relate very well to the schools, the teachers and the students in the system, and have created several committees that provide for participation of people from all levels in the system in the process of making decisions and planning and developing new ideas.

In summary then, the York County Board of Education has managed to create an organisation that exhibits a high degree of openness to change, has a high capacity for change, manages the change process well and is committed to the exploration of new ideas for the improvement of education both in terms of quality and equality of access. As is always the case, it has to operate in environments that sometimes set severe limits to the changes that actually can take place. It is our impression, however, that the Board is well aware of these limitations and has developed links which enables it to assess these forces rather carefully and to take them into account in the innovation process. At the same time, as we have seen in the report, it is also aware that there is a whole range of problems that have to be dealt with before the system can realise its maximum capacity.

In conclusion, we should perhaps introduce a cautionary note. It should be remembered that our impressions are based on a very limited number of interviews and observations. On the whole, our information derives from individuals who could be expected to have a tendency, however unconsciously, to present a favourable picture of the system and its functioning. As we have said before, a more balanced picture could probably be obtained if we had the time and resources to make a more comprehensive and representative survey. However, we did not detect any systematic effort to cover up some unfavourable facts or information. Our interviewees were frank and provided many critical insights into the problems of the system. In spite of the limitations of the sources of our information we are reasonably confident that we have managed to build up an authentic picture of the system and have been able to identify the essential features of its mode of managing innovation.

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   The Act stated: "On and after the first day of January, 1969,

   a) every defined city; and
   b) every county, including all municipalities situate therein, except
      i) a defined city, and
      ii) an area municipality as defined in the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act or the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton Act, 1968,

   is a school division."

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9. S.L.G. Chapman, Director of the York County Board of Education. Transcribed from interview with him.

10. The York County Board of Education, Staff Reference Book, Aurora, Ontario, September 1970, Section 4. This and all other quotations regarding the aims and objectives of the Board are taken from this source.

11. The third major division of the organisation is the Business Section. However, since it does not bear directly on the innovations with which we are concerned it was not studied.

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13. Bacsalmasi, Stephen, "The Place of Curriculum Committees in the York County School System", Growth Points 70: Reports of Research and Development Projects in York County Schools, York County Board of Education, Brian Burnham (ed.), 1970, p.39.

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16. This position is also reflected in an essay written by a Master Teacher for an assignment in a university course which she was taking. We do not cite her name since the paper was given to us in confidence.

17. Division of Planning and Development, "Problems Noted By Participants at an O.D. Lab Re: Master Teachers", York County Board of Education, 9 March 1971. (This is not a formal publication).

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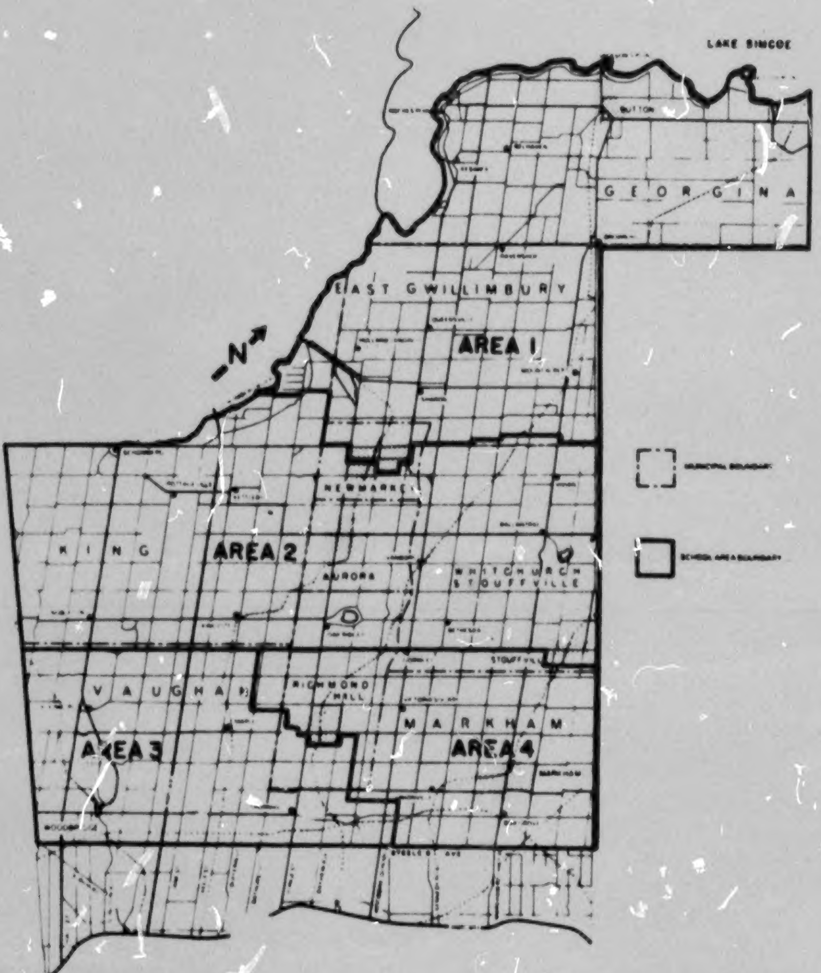
20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

Appendix

SCHOOL AREAS IN YORK COUNTY


LAKE SIMCOE
SUTTON
GEORGINA
EAST GWILLIMBURY
AREA 1
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NEWMARKET
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AREA 2
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WHITCHURCH STOUFFVILLE
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VAUGHAN
RICHMOND HILL
MARKHAM
AREA 3
AREA 4
STEELES AVE
MUNICIPAL BOUNDARY
SCHOOL AREA BOUNDARY

Part Five

MALMÖ, SWEDEN

by

Wolfgang-P. Teschner

Skanör, April 1971

The author wishes to express his gratitude to the National Board of Education and the Malmö Board of Education for enabling him to carry out this study. He is especially grateful to all colleagues and friends who had to bear the brunt of his curiosity, particularly Birgit Rodhe, who provided information and answered questions patiently and with professional expertise at many time-consuming meetings.

SUMMARY

Malmö is the third largest city in Sweden, with more than a quarter of a million inhabitants. It is a cultural centre and a focal point of trade and communications. In terms of social groups and income levels its population is made up in roughly the same proportions as that of Sweden generally. The body in control of education in the city - the City Board of Education - has had a permanent Social Democrat majority for the past five decades.

In international as well as Swedish terms, Malmö has become something of a trend-setter in educational innovation - an activity which centres in the city on two institutions: the Educational Development Centre, set up in 1964, and the Department of Educational and Psychological Research in the College of Education (which like other Swedish colleges is subordinate to the National Board of Education in Stockholm). The Department's function is one quarter training and three-quarters research.

There is also a unique organisation of "subject groups" - 60 of them having from three to 10 members, mostly teachers, but more recently supplemented by head teachers and administrators. This study largely describes the work of the Development Centre and the Department in the College. It puts the Malmö innovation scene in the context of post-war social and educational development in Sweden, and particularly the development of the nine-year comprehensive school.

The initiative for the Development Centre came from one highly innovatory school in Malmö. The principal of the school, Birgit Rodhe, has remained at the centre of educational advance in Malmö. The author emphasises the large part played by certain individuals in making Malmö uniquely innovatory.

The study describes in detail the projects attempted by the two main innovation institutions, and takes four projects as examples in depth of the working of the institutions. The first concerns flexible pupil grouping, subject integration and team teaching; the second remedial teaching to replace certain forms of special education; the third the now world-famous individualised mathematics teaching project (IMU) and fourth, experimental methods for the teaching of German. The emphasis is placed in the study on the individual initiatives by teachers which so often lead to general innovation, and the need for the right atmosphere, receptive to change, in the school office.

The author goes into detail over the process of implementing local innovations nationally, relationships between the Development Centre and the National Board, and indicates that in some areas at least teachers have recently become concerned at the speed of change, and the demands that it is putting on them. A "backlash" is appearing which is bound to have a dampening effect on reform, and indicates the need to carry teachers along at every stage of innovation, and particularly before the "diffusion" stage.

The study also emphasises the dangers of over-hasty implementation of innovations, before there has been time for a real evaluation of their relevance in different teaching situations. Other criticisms of the process of regional innovation are that planning has been too short-sighted, for too short a period, and too little has been done to integrate initial and in-service teacher training into the process of change.

CONTENTS

Chapter I

BACKGROUND TO PROBLEMS

Introductory remarks on the background and objectives of the study and the methods used 321

A few facts about geography and population of Malmö 322

Structure and administration of the Malmö educational system 323

The potential and limitations of educational innovation at regional level under the Swedish educational system with special reference to the Malmö region ... 327
  The reforms in the Swedish educational system 327
  Educational research and development in Sweden 331

Historical development and preliminary theoretical status-definition of the regional initiatives, as viewed from Malmö 336

Chapter II

THE ORIGIN, ORGANISATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE INSTITUTIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN THE MALMÖ REGION

The Malmö Educational Development Centre 345
  Origin and objectives 345
  Organisation and operation 348
  Resources 349

The Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the Malmö School of Education 351
  Origin and objectives 351
  Organisation and operation 352
  Resources 356

Chapter III

OVERVIEW OF PROJECTS

Definition 359

Projects directed by the Educational Development Centre 360

Projects directed by the Department of Educational and Psychological Research 361
  Flexible grouping of pupils,subject integration and team teaching 362

Remedial teaching to replace certain forms of special classes 366
Individualised mathematics teaching (IMU) 368
Teaching methods for the teaching of German (UMT) .. 371

Chapter IV

IDENTIFICATION AND FORMULATION OF PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

The relationship between the problem-identification phase and the solution-finding phase 377
Characteristics of initiatives and control mechanisms 378
Formal and informal initiatives 378
Control of problem-identification phase in the innovation process 381
Examples 384
Flexible group size, subject integration and team teaching 384
Remedial teaching to replace certain forms of special classes 387
Individualised mathematics teaching (IMU) 389
Teaching methods for the teaching of German (UMT) ... 391

Chapter V

ADOPTION OF SOLUTIONS

Fundamental problem identification 395
Forms of co-operation and possibilities of conflict . 395
Trends in the discussion of educational policy objectives and pedagogical objectives 397
Examples 399
Flexible group size, subject integration and team teaching 399
Remedial teaching to replace certain forms of special classes 401
Individualised mathematics teaching (IMU) 403
Teaching methods for the teaching of German (UMT) .. 405

Chapter VI

THE PROCESS OF IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION

Fundamental problem identification 407
Evaluation and scientific supervision in the innovation process 407
The problem of diffusion 408
Examples 410
Flexible group size, subject integration and team teaching 410

Remedial teaching to replace certain forms of special classes 413
Individualised teaching of mathematics (IMU) 415
Teaching methods for the teaching of German (UMT) .. 417

Chapter VII

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE THEORETICAL STATUS OF INNOVATIVE ACTIVITIES IN THE MALMÖ REGION AND FURTHER OUTLOOK

Models and further outlook for educational innovation at regional level, as viewed from Malmö 419
Some concluding views of the observer 423
Appendix 1: PEOPLE INTERVIEWED AND SOURCES 427
Appendix 2: GENERAL REFERENCES 429
Appendix 3: PROJECT CATALOGUES 433
Appendix 4: PROJECT CATALOGUES 437
Appendix 5: REFERENCES AND CONTACTS FOR EXEMPLARY PROJECTS 443

The future is born when the present is changed

Birgit RODHE, Malmö

Researchers have not merely to provide instruments for measuring. They should also be able to bring dynamism to the educational field, not only providing a better foundation but also bringing about more radical renewal.

Åke BJERSTEDT, Malmö

Chapter I

BACKGROUND TO PROBLEMS

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON THE BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY AND THE METHODS USED

It is far from certain to what extent experience acquired in educational innovation can be transposed from one region to another. There are regions of Sweden which are doing educational research and development on much the same structural pattern as Malmö, but whose regional, national and international impact is nothing like that of Malmö. Consequently in this study, which forms one of the CERI Case Studies of Educational Innovation, I could not entirely concur with the somewhat purist approach based on the idea that strategy analyses should confine themselves to questions of method, and should entirely exclude questions of content. My investigations have given me sufficient cause to suppose that innovation can only be brought about by certain combinations of structural, staffing and subject-matter factors. Accordingly, the principal objective of this study has been to illustrate the interplay of these factors in the Malmö region. Obviously an exemplary approach is particularly suitable for this purpose, since it is only the examples that can make the subject-matter relationships clear.

Due to the highly centralized structure of the Swedish educational system the observer must constantly relate conditions in the region he is studying to the overall organisational context. This can easily cause him to treat reforms that are justified at national levels as innovations initiated at national level, although the first and decisive steps are clearly traceable to individual or regional initiatives. Conversely, what seem to be typically regional merits may be nothing but the strict adaptation of national guidelines and practices.

In order to make the clearest possible distinction in such cases between adaptation and initiative and between regional and national effectiveness I have again and again referred the reader, at the risk of being repetitive, to certain formal and informal channels of communication, power structures and staffing situations.

It is probable that, in so doing, a researcher who is not personally involved in the innovation process he is describing and who, as a non-Swede, does not belong to any of the institutions and groups concerned will occasionally give a different emphasis to what he is describing than would those directly involved, because of their very concrete personal interests, and probably it is also a good thing that he should do so.

The limitations of a one-man team and the extremely short time available for conducting observations in accordance with the special terms of reference of this study obliged me to adopt comparatively rudimentary methods. However I was able to make use of observations made and facts learned during a stay in Malmö totalling more than one year. The period available for the investigations relating to this study was two months. Although industrial disputes affecting Swedish civil servants and salaried staff employed in the educational system meant that some of the persons I had hoped to interview were unavailable precisely during the period of my investigations, because of strikes or lockouts, I do not think that the validity of my observations has suffered to any large extent.

As a rule, the individual sources on which the study is based are not referred to in the text unless quotations are used. I have mainly evaluated facts learned during my aggregate stay in Sweden (between 1969 and 1971) and during the actual period of observation at the Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the Malmö School of Education, in the Experiment Committee of the Educational Development Centre and in the course of many visits to schools and informal meetings with scientists and teachers. People interviewed and sources used are listed in Appendix 1 (page 427) and general references in Appendix 2 (page 429 et seq.).

A FEW FACTS ABOUT GEOGRAPHY AND POPULATION OF MALMÖ

Sweden is divided into 24 counties, of which Malmöhus, situated in the extreme south-west of the country, though the third smallest in area (approximately 4,750 sq. km.), is by far the most densely populated (approximately 145 inhabitants per sq. km.) and (with approximately 690,000 inhabitants) the county with the largest absolute population. For the sake of comparison, Sweden has a total area of approximately 450,000 sq. km. and a total population of approximately 7,950,000 (1969), giving a population density of 18 inhabitants per square kilometre. This means that in regional planning generally and educational planning in particular Malmöhus County does not have the fundamental problem that faces most of the counties in central and northern Sweden, i.e. low population density and big distances. On the contrary, in regional and educational planning Malmöhus County has to contend with a steady increase in the rate of immigration from the northern parts of the country and from outside Sweden.

The city of Malmö, on which this study is centred, lies on the Öresund, directly opposite Copenhagen. With more than a quarter of a million inhabitants it is, after Stockholm and Göteborg, the third largest city in Sweden. As a cultural centre and focal point of trade and communications it is particularly attractive to immigrants. In 1970 approximately 20 per cent of the total population was under school leaving age (16 years). School-age children account for only 12 to 13 per cent of the total population in the central districts, the old city (and this figure is decreasing), but up to 30 per cent in the new city and the suburbs.

In Malmö all social classes and income groups are represented in practically the same proportions as in Sweden generally (at national level approximately 8 per cent belong to social category I, 48 per cent to social category II and 44 per cent to social category III), thanks to the diversification of industry (the main industries are shipbuilding, engineering and tool manufacture, cement, textiles and foodstuffs) and thanks to Malmö's key position as a focal point of trade and communications within Scandinavia and in Europe.

STRUCTURE AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The Swedish educational system is largely centralised. The Ministry of Education (utbildningsdepartementet), formerly ecklesiastikdepartementet) - one of a total of 11 ministries in the Swedish Government - has as its direct subordinate the National Board of Education (skolöverstyrelsen) in Stockholm, whose director-general is appointed by the Government. Each of the 24 counties has its own county school board (länskolnämnden), whose main functions are organisation and administration. Among other things the county school board appoints primary school teachers, not grammar school teachers, throughout the county - on the recommendation, it is true, of the individual municipalities - and is responsible for organising advanced training for teachers in the county.

The body in charge of the school system of the city of Malmö is the Malmö City Board of Education (Malmö stads skolstyrelsen), which is composed of 11 politicians, not as a rule professional educationists, who are elected for a term of four years. Of the five parties represented in the Swedish Riksdag - the Centre Party, the Communist Party, the Liberal Party, the Moderate Assembly Party (conservative) and the Social Democrat Party - four are now represented on the Malmö City Board of Education; the Social Democrat Party has six members, the Liberal Party two, the Moderate Assembly Party two and the Centre Party one. Obviously then the City Board of Education reflects the political majority situation in the region but not necessarily that of the country. In the period with which this study is concerned, i.e. from about 1960 onwards, as well as during the last fifty years, there has been a permanent Social Democrat majority in the Malmö City Board of Education.

The City Board's official agency for the administration and planning of the school system in Malmö is the School Office (skolförvaltning). This is headed by the director of education and three assistant directors of education, all of whom are appointed directly by the Government in Stockholm, on the recommendation of the City Board of Education and in consultation with the county school board and the National Board of Education. All other officials of the School Office are appointed by the City Board of Education.

The respective spheres of competence of these bodies are prescribed by law and the details are not relevant here. Generally speaking, such autonomy as the City Board of Education enjoys is confined to economic and administrative matters, but even in these matters there is nearly always limited national control, partly via the county school board and partly via the National Board of Education. In questions relating to the organisation of schools and instruction, curriculum and teaching materials all city initiatives are in principle subject to the consent of the National Board.

The school system in Malmö does not differ structurally from that in other parts of Sweden. The pre-school, which is neither compulsory nor public (i.e. generally accessible), is attended by less than 30 per cent of all six-year-olds. Children are admitted according to the number of vacant places and in order of registration; in exceptional cases (e.g. in the case of unmarried mothers) regard is paid to social circumstances. Malmö was the first major city in Sweden to introduce the nine-year comprehensive or basic school (grundskola) for all children after the Riksdag Resolution of 1962. At present (the spring of 1971) approximately 28,700 children are attending this comprehensive school, just over 9,000 in each of the three levels; the lower level (lågstadiet), i.e. the first, second and third grades; the intermediate level (mellanstadiet), i.e. the fourth, fifth and sixth grades; and the upper level (högstadiet), i.e. the seventh, eighth and ninth grades. Slightly fewer than 1,000 pupils are attending special remedial or observation classes, or classes for children with defective sight or hearing.

Malmö is divided into some 25 rectorate areas. As a rule a rectorate area comprises one comprehensive school upper level (seventh, eighth and ninth grade) and its feeder schools. This means that the intermediate and lower comprehensive levels, even if they are geographically isolated, have no rector of their own but are subordinate to the upper level rector of the school which takes their pupils. This does not affect the upper secondary schools (the gymnasium), the continuation school (fackskola) and the vocational school, which all have their own rectors.

Autumn 1971 will see a start being made throughout Sweden on the reorganisation of the present three post-primary schools, the gymnasium, the continuation school and the vocational school, into one integrated upper secondary school (the gymnasieskola). In the autumn of 1970 these three types of school were attended by 6,701 pupils; approximately 57 per cent of these attended the gymnasium and 43 per cent the continuation school, the vocational school or some other upper secondary special course. Since 1964 both the comprehensive school and the present three upper secondary schools have come within the competence of the National Board of Education at national level and within that of the City Board of Education at regional level.

The average roll is 9.5 pupils for special classes, 22.4 for the lower grades, 27.1 for the intermediate grades, 28.1 for the upper grades, 28.2 for the gymnasium and 26.8 for the continuation school and the vocational school.

Three special educational "initiative groups" should be mentioned in addition to, and to a certain extent within the context of, the administration of the school system by the Board of Education and the School Office. July 1964 saw the establishment of the Malmö Educational Development Centre (Pedagogiska Utvecklingsblocket i Malmö, or PUM), a system of working groups which has branched out considerably since that time, whose composition is variable and which has made Malmö famous in many parts of the world as a particularly creative and innovative region as far as education is concerned. Most of the questions discussed in this study will concern the Centre. Malmö is unique in having what are called subject groups (ämnesgrupper). At present there are just under 60 of these, each having from three to ten members, mostly teachers, but supplemented since 1969 with head teachers and members of the School Office. In principle there is a subject group for each school subject at each level, with the general task of promoting educational development and planning. Their specific spheres of activity are selecting and purchasing new teaching materials (textbooks and other media), proposing and defining problem areas and curricula for the advanced training of teachers and suggesting projects for educational experimentation. The members of the subject groups are chosen and appointed by the director of education and are expected to co-operate closely with the Board of Education.

The pedagogical consultants (konsulenter) also work under purely municipal management, but not only in the municipality of Malmö, though Malmö has the strongest consultant organisation in Sweden. The consultants are employed half-time as teachers; for the remainder of their time their work consists of giving the teachers within their sphere of competence advice mainly on matters specific to their subject or level and of ensuring liaison with the board of education by which they are chosen and appointed. Some of their main duties are active participation in educational development and the preparation and drafting of advanced training programmes for teachers. The specific relevance of the subject groups and the consultant service to educational innovation in Malmö will be discussed later in this study.

Since 1962 Malmö has had a School of Education (lärarhögskolā i Malmö). Like all other schools of education in Sweden it is subordinate to the National Board of Education in Stockholm. It has three functions: first, the training or part-training of all categories of teachers for the general educational system; secondly, in-service education for teachers at regular summer courses, one-year upgrading courses for obtaining extended teaching qualifications and other training provided on an ad hoc basis; and, thirdly, educational and psychological research. This last function is carried out through the Department of Educational and Psychological Research (pedagogisk-psykologiska institutionen) whose organisation and operation are described in Chapter II. The Department is the second institution, with the Educational Development Centre, on whose activities this study will concentrate.

Even an outline of Malmö's educational system would be incomplete without at least a reference to the most important of the institutions which are not subordinate or attached to either the local school authorities or the School of Education. In addition to other special training establishments Malmö has a Pre-School Teachers' Training College (förskoleseminariet) and a Dental College. In addition, the Hermods Publishing Company operates in Malmö - Sweden's largest and most diversified correspondence school, which offers courses ranging from primary school to university level.

THE POTENTIAL AND LIMITATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION AT REGIONAL LEVEL UNDER THE SWEDISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MALMÖ REGION

The reforms in the Swedish educational system

In the international literature and at the many congresses and conferences dealing with the subject people like to speak of the Swedish educational reform, meaning the preparation, introduction and pedagogical implementation of the nine-year comprehensive school, which formed the general and compulsory basis of the Swedish education system by the Riksdag Resolution of 1962. This popular view and manner of presenting the subject is one-sided and over-simplified. Anyone proposing to discover the various mainsprings of reform in the Swedish educational system via an analysis of all manifestations of innovation and change in the field of organised education must avoid this one-sidedness and consider at least the following three factors as well.

Besides the reform of the comprehensive school (first to ninth grades), the reform of the upper secondary level (tenth to twelfth grades) and of the universities and colleges has been carried out not only subsequently but also simultaneously and with comparable thoroughness. Now (autumn 1971) the reform of the upper secondary level is reaching its provisional culmination with the combination of the gymnasium, the continuation school and the vocational school into one integrated upper secondary school. Whereas in the 1940s and the 1950s emphasis was on quantitative expansion, the reform of the universities and colleges since the end of the 1960s has mainly concerned the question of whether specific subject courses should be more rigidly designed. A temporary though not universally accepted solution has been provided by the 1969 Government Resolution (PUKAS).

In the second place no single event defines either the comprehensive school reform or the upper secondary and university reform. The relevant Riksdag resolutions were prepared by many years of committee work, to some extent supplemented by specific scientific surveys. Yet it has always been stressed that administrative interventions in the organisational structure of the educational system are not intended to conclude the reform but to stimulate its further development. This is the meaning of the expression "rolling reform". One of the purposes of this study is to ascertain to what extent this involves pedagogical implementation and realisation within the context created by administrative action rather than substantial progression or revision.

In the third place it might be one-sided to describe the Swedish reform model, unlike other models with similar objectives, as a primarily political one, in which the scientific-educational problem formulation has taken or is taking second place only. Even this question is fundamentally connected with the innovation strategies examined in this study.

Persons who know the Swedish scene will not accept these three points with equal readiness; in fact there may even be good reasons for contradicting all three of them, especially the last two.

Although this is probably not the appropriate place to give a detailed historical account of the reforms in the Swedish educational system it will do no harm to establish the decisive turning points by means of some data and comments in order to provide a background against which to analyse the motives and strategies of the entire concept of innovation and its concrete manifestations in the Malmö region. This brief outline will not even indicate the currents of social policy and economics that may have led to the individual reforms. These questions will have to be examined later, if at all, when the identification and formulation, and the solution, of the educational problems are discussed.

The first historically tangible steps towards the introduction of the generally compulsory nine-year comprehensive school in Sweden were the setting up of the Parliamentary Commission on Schools in 1946 and the submission in 1948 of its report containing proposed guidelines for the future development of the Swedish educational system. This document dealt mainly with the objectives, content and methods of a new school, which, of course, also included the "differentiation question", an expression which at the time covered only the assignment of pupils to different types of school, streams or branches. In 1950 the Riksdag adopted a policy resolution which contained the recommendation that a nine-year unitary school should be tried out experimentally in addition to the traditional school system. The relationship between a policy resolution and scientific experimentation, which was not entirely clear from the wording used, was interpreted in the Riksdag Resolution of 1956 to mean that the 1950 resolution already contained a policy decision in favour of the unitary school and that only the organisational details would be clarified by the experimental phase. 1957 saw the appointment of the Commission on Schools, which had to draft proposals on the definitive pattern of the new school. In 1961 this Commission submitted its main report, two years after the National Board of Education had submitted a summary report on the experimental phase of the unitary school. This was followed by the official introduction of the nine-year comprehensive school by the Riksdag Resolution of 1962. Detailed particulars of the organisation and content of this new school were contained in the curricula or curriculum revisions of 1962, 1967 and 1969. (Kungl. Skolöverstyrelsens skriftserie/Publications Series of the National Board of Education/60:1963, Skolöverstyrelsen/National Board of Education/1967, ibid., 1969).

The reform of the schools at upper secondary level, i.e. the gymnasium, the vocational school and (after 1964) the continuation school (fackskola), has from the outset been related with remarkable clarity and consistency to the planned conversion of the entire educational system into a horizontal structure.

The broad field of the consumers, i.e. the universities, the colleges, the administration and the economy, can certainly be regarded as a second plane of orientation to which the most important scientific studies of upper secondary reform were oriented. As far back as 1953 it was in view of this large-scale and longer-term alignment that the authorities confined themselves to a modest organisational partial reform of the general gymnasium (there were also technical gymnasia and commercial gymnasia) in order to deal with the immediate demand situation. The main feature was the addition to the existing classical and scientific (science and mathematics) streams of a third stream, called the general stream, in which the emphasis was on modern languages or social studies. In 1960 a Commission on Upper Secondary Education was appointed which from the outset viewed education as a graded and differentiated entity and directed its examination of objectives, content and organisation towards a subsequent combination of the three existing types of upper secondary school (the gymnasium, the vocational school and the continuation school) into one integrated school. The political turning points on the way to this objective occurred in 1962, 1964 and 1968. In 1962 a policy resolution on the introduction of continuation schools at upper secondary level was set forth, which envisioned the continuation school as a kind of connecting link between the gymnasium and the vocational school, and a commission on the continuation school was established. Two years later the continuation schools were introduced in accordance with the proposals of the 1962 Commission and the gymnasium was reorganised in accordance with the proposals of the 1960 Commission on Upper Secondary Education. In 1968 a policy resolution was set forth to integrate the gymnasium, the continuation school and the vocational school from 1 July 1971 onwards into one upper secondary school (gymnasieskola). The new upper secondary school will have 21 two-year to four-year streams falling into three main categories: humanities and social sciences; economics; and technical and scientific studies. Briefly, this means that the streams offered by the existing gymnasium are to be maintained and those offered by the continuation school are to be simplified. Vocational training is to be restructured substantially by a broadening of the basic training involved.

University and college reform in Sweden is only relevant to this study insofar as it directly affects educational research and development, a question which will be discussed later. The organisational structure of the pedagogical training and research institutions and their relevance to the innovative strategies in the Malmö region will also be examined separately (especially in Chapter II but also in various other contexts). Here, therefore, it may suffice to mention the latest report of the Commission on Education (SOU 1970: 22), which contains far-reaching proposals for broadening and changing the organisation of pedagogical training, educational research and development and educational documentation.

Educational research and development in Sweden

Neither the quantity nor the quality alone of educational research in Sweden can explain adequately its international significance. Prior to the 1940s Sweden did practically no scientific studies on education that had any impact outside Scandinavia. Until 1937 there were only four professorships of education and psychology at all the country's universities and colleges. Around 1950 psychology was established as a separate university discipline, but even today the professors of education are also responsible for educational psychology at their various institutions. Sweden has no further specialisations within education, such as chairs of or research centres for historical pedagogics, educational philosophy, general didactics, etc., with the exception of Professor Torsten Husén's Chair of International Education. This does not of course mean that no research whatever is done in these specialist disciplines; however, the psychological and theory of learning aspects clearly predominate in Sweden's actual research. Moreover, the close association of education and psychology is probably the main reason for the predominantly empirical nature of research and of the training received by researchers in education.

A second specific feature of educational research in Sweden is its close relationship to the reforms in the educational system, which go back to the 1940s, and to the immediate demand situations arising out of these reforms. One of the main causes of this may well be the fact that in the vast majority of cases, and especially the most well-known, educational research in Sweden is State-commissioned, i.e. involves research which is intended to prepare, supervise or evaluate specific political reforms or to promote their practical implementation. One logical consequence is the fact that in the last 15 years scientific pedagogy has been increasingly concerned with educational development. In these circumstances it is certainly no accident that - despite the relative scarcity of scientific theories generally - valuable scientific theories on educational research and development have come from the ranks of Swedish educationists and educational scientists.

It seems likely that much of the Malmö region's innovative capacity has developed thanks to the theoretical formulation of problems by two Malmö educationists, Åke Bjerstedt, director of the Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the Malmö School of Education, and Birgit Rodhe, municipal councillor and, until the beginning of 1971, assistant director of education and experiment leader at the Malmö Educational Development Centre.

In his publication The School and Educational Development (1967) Åke Bjerstedt introduces the methods and problems of educational research and development. He rejects the cliché accepting fundamentally divergent criteria for educational theory as opposed to educational practice. Leaving aside cases in which a teacher acts spontaneously and perhaps under emotional pressure, it can be said of nearly all educational situations that practical action based on any personal hypotheses is guided by whatever measures seem adequate to a particular situation. The educationist finds out whether such hypotheses are right or wrong according to their success, preferably tested over fairly long periods of time and in more than individual cases. This is what he calls experience. Theory construction in education is merely the formulation or coding such assumptions or hypotheses, i.e. perceiving testable individual maxims as a connected whole, testing them against educational reality in order to compose the maxims thus corrected (and capable of and needing further correction) into a non-contradictory system, i.e. into a theory. The purpose of research in this kind of empirical science is, with the help of the most objective criteria possible, i.e. criteria applicable to different subjects, "to test the hypotheses on the connection between measures and results in educational and teaching situations, and other situations in which people are influenced". (Bjerstedt, 1967, p. 5). On this basis there can be no contradiction between educational theory and educational practice.

In principle the only difference between the hypotheses and the personal experiences of the individual teacher and the scientific hypotheses and theories of research lies in the organisational superiority and perfection of the latter. Carefully formulated hypotheses, possibly made more precise by a series of experiments, are put forward; situations are artificially created or selected in accordance with systematic and controllable criteria; certain measures are adopted in an attempt to effect changes (e.g. of behaviour) on the basis of these situations in the direction of pre-defined objectives; the results are evaluated and compared with the target values. In this the scientists are better placed than the individual educationist in that they can more easily avoid subjective bias and limitations and can even prepare ways of revealing bias and limitations as such.

Bjerstedt sees no difference between basic research and applied research. If definitions were needed, he would define the former as "a systematic quest for new knowledge, without a specific application in view" and the latter as a systematic quest with conscious attention to specific needs (Bjerstedt, 1967(a), p. 4.2e). Consequently, the difference between the two extremes lies in potential as against actual reference to existing situations. In practice, however, the various research projects are nearly always partly linked to a situation, e.g. the situation as regards curriculum materials, persons (teachers, pupils), etc.

Bjerstedt takes a very definite stand on the problem of the direction of research by third parties, i.e. the problem of free research as compared to commissioned research. Research can only be called free if the researcher is free "in his choice of subject and methods, and in the interpretation and publication of his results". Bjerstedt states that "the most serious restrictions of this freedom are caused by dogmatic views on the part of politicians, financing authorities or vocal representatives of so called 'public opinion'. Dogmatic views like these may, inter alia, have the effect of placing a taboo on certain areas and methods of research." (Bjerstedt, 1967(a), p. 4.13). The researcher will be more inclined to accept restrictions of his freedom on material grounds, e.g. a shortage of personnel or funds. Bjerstedt warns that "exclusively consumer-directed research is probably less beneficial in the long run, because it can easily inhibit the development dynamics inherent in research." (Bjerstedt, 1967(a), p. 4.14).

Educationists doing educational research and development in the various Malmö institutions draw attention to the constant stimulus afforded by, and the different interests represented in, Bjerstedt's theoretical model of a "continuity of varied research models" (Bjerstedt, 1967(a), p. 4.3 ff.), which does not make a rigid distinction between basic research and applied research (clearly related in this instance to the current needs of the schools). In fact, Bjerstedt shows by means of a few examples that different types of research are characterised by greater or lesser emphasis on subject matter, materials, consumers and situations and may have either the primary or the secondary aim of testing implementation, and that all of them have specific relevance in educational research.

The observer of the Swedish educational scene quite often encounters the argument that many educational researchers are rather bewildered about innovative thinking, or at any rate more dubious about it than their colleagues in the schools, the administration and politics. Bjerstedt takes up this argument and replies:

> "The researcher should be given a much more active and influential role in the constant interplay between educational researchers and the consumers. The researcher should be able to initiate entirely new methodological approaches and organisational solutions. He should contribute actively to the discussion on objectives and towards designing the details of the training process (and, since he is outside the institutional context, he can sometimes dare to be really radical in this sphere) .... Researchers have not merely to provide instruments for measuring. They should also be able to bring dynamism to the educational field, not merely providing a better foundation but also bringing about more radical renewal." (Bjerstedt, 1967(a), p. 4.15.).

In many essays and lectures Birgit Rodhe has attempted to develop theoretical models for educational experimentation at the regional level, as carried on at the Malmö Educational Development Centre. She has endeavoured to define the status of this type of active social and scientific co-determination among the many theories and models for educational change. Her contributions, and the more recent ones of Bertil Gran and Göte Rudvall, can be traced back directly to the experimentation done in Malmö and are also largely related to that experimentation. In the following chapters these experiments will be discussed in relation to the processes described.

The institutional contexts in which educational development and research are organised and conducted in Sweden come under two national authorities, both subordinate to the Ministry of Education: the Office of the Chancellor of the Universities (universitetskanslersämbetet) and the National Board of Education. Educational research is carried on at the educational or psychological institutes at Göteborg, Lund, Stockholm and Uppsala universities. The universities and their institutes are both subordinate to the Chancellor's Office. Research at the country's "major" colleges of education is done at the educational institutes or institutes of educational and psychological research which have been set up at the colleges of education in Stockholm (1956), Malmö (1962), Göteborg (1965), Umoå (1968), Linköping and Uppsala (both 1969). The colleges of education are subordinate to the National Board of Education, but the institutes are partly subordinate to the Chancellor's Office as well, insofar as they offer academic courses in education and training for researchers. In recent years educational research in fact has been administered and financed almost exclusively by the Department of Teacher Training and Educational Development (Bureau L4) of the National Board of Education. Bureau L4 was set up in 1963 as a systematic reaction to the questions and problems arising out of the comprehensive school reform of 1962. Its main functions are to initiate, promote and co-ordinate educational research and development, to stimulate action and make suggestions aimed at defining the research policy, and to formulate development guidelines for the entire educational system. In 1970-71 Bureau L4 based its work on a classification of educational development for the school system as follows:

- research and development (school research);
- curriculum development;
- the development of teaching materials;
- teacher-managed experimentation in certain schools; and
- other educational development.

The order of priority of this classification is clear from the following quotation:

> "In view of the National Board of Education, development in its entirety is highly important and essential for ensuring that the school will be able to discharge its functions and constantly renew itself. It is of the nature of educational development that the larger and longer-term research projects on objectives, materials and results occupy a key position. Without the unconditional testing and construction that take place in these projects development would gradually be restricted and would thereby become an increasingly insignificant basis for innovation and improvement. It is, therefore, natural that attention should be focused on the first of the above main categories of development carried out by the National Board of Education" (Skolöverstyrelsen/ National Board of Education/,1970(a) p. 5).

The demand situation within the various problem areas of educational research carried out by the National Board of Education is defined by means of a systematic problem inventory which has a fairly substantial influence on the work done (see Chapter IV). At the present time educational research managed by the National Board covers the following problem areas:

- the overall objectives of the school;
- the detailed objectives;
- the pupils;
- pupil organisation and school environment;
- instruction;
- the teachers;
- teaching materials;
- measuring pupil performance; and
- evaluating the efficiency of the school.

According to the budget appropriations in research year 1970-71 almost the same importance is attached to "instruction" and "teaching materials" as to all other items combined.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND PRELIMINARY THEORETICAL STATUS-DEFINITION OF THE REGIONAL INITIATIVES, AS VIEWED FROM MALMÖ

The fundamental centralistic tendency in the structure and administration of the Swedish educational system means that in principle every significant regional initiative is an exception, for which the approval of the competent national authorities is always necessary. The regionally limited unitary school experiments which preceded the comprehensive school reform of 1962 had been sited in certain municipalities at the suggestion of the National Board. Even concerning the progressive introduction of the nine-year comprehensive school after 1962, all that an individual municipality could do was submit a request to the National Board specifying "earlier" or "later" and in this way have a voice in deciding the date of introduction.

It is true that in the 1920s and 1930s there were within narrow limits certain regional, loosely organised initiatives in Sweden, e.g. in Göteborg and Hälsingborg, which influenced the content of educational reform after 1950. Prior to that some private schools had been able to go a little way towards enlivening the state school system but these activities had nothing like the significance of individual progressive schools or regions in other countries, e.g. the United Kingdom or the Federal Republic of Germany. The fact that despite this relatively slight latitude accorded to the regional school authorities it has been possible to establish, so far, five "educational development centres" at regional level (Malmö, Kalmar, Karlstad, Skellefteå and Sundsvall), is attributed by Birgit Rodhe essentially to a twofold reaction to the political decisions concerning the reform of the public school system.

The unitary school experiments in the 1950s were considered excessively organisation-oriented and rigid by the majority of teachers. People frequently complained that there was no place for internal educational renewal in this kind of educational reform. Yet people in the schools at first unaffected by the unitary school experiments, i.e. the realskola, the girls' higher school (flickskola) and the gymnasium, protested that the authorities were investing a lot of money and energy in the reorganisation of the compulsory school but were not prepared to spend comparable sums on the further development of the higher schools.

These schools were therefore authorised by Riksdag resolution to apply to the National Board of Education for funds to carry out free experimentation. Since this type of experimentation apparently did not prove effective enough in the 1950s - it resulted in only a few initiatives concerning such matters as curriculum design - the National Board proposed in 1958 a new form of experimentation. Seven interested upper secondary schools (gymnasiums and girls' higher schools) were finally selected by the Board as special experimental schools. Their work was financially assisted by the Board but also, unlike the schools that had engaged in free experimentation on the previous lines, more closely supervised. Two of the seven schools, the gymnasium in Kalmar (läroverket i Kalmar) and the Malmö higher girls' school (kommunala flickskolan i Malmö) became the nuclei of the present educational development centres in Kalmar and Malmö respectively.

The Riksdag Resolution of 1962 and the subsequent introduction of the nine-year compulsory comprehensive school led to a second and similarly motivated reaction among what may even have been a majority of all teachers. People felt educationally isolated in the organisational context of the new school, confronted with a pupil population of a new kind and lacking help and instructions as to how the magic wand of "individualisation" was actually to be used in this setting. Ad hoc experiments in coping with this acute emergency introduced the process of converting the demands of a new curriculum in a new school into educational reality by means of systematic experimentation on a regional basis. Thus the initial idea of setting up regional development centres, which came from Malmö as an official impetus (cf. Chapter II), can be traced to initiatives outside the "official" comprehensive school reform of 1962. In fact, at the beginning they did not even relate to the comprehensive school. The 1962 reform was considered disappointing in so far as it was confined to political and organisational aspects and practically excluded pedagogics altogether. It led to a colossal structural change without an educational counterpart; this gap was filled by regional development.

It was basically the same difficulties that had led to the setting up in 1963 of the special Department of Teacher Training and Educational Development (Bureau L4) in the National Board of Education. In addition to fulfilling an advisory function with regard to educational policy, which was mentioned above, the Bureau also created the administrative framework for the effective promotion of educational research and development, especially in the municipalities where the "major" colleges of education with their departments of educational and psychological research had been or were to be located.

Today, with hindsight, the representatives of the Malmö Educational Development Centre consider it an extraordinary handicap that the Centre was made subordinate to the General Teaching Department (department UA) only and not - like the Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the School of Education - to Bureau L4 as well. The members of the Centre had wished it to be attached to Bureau L4, especially in order to be sure of scientific support and supervision of experiments, but Bureau L4 was reluctant to meet this wish. Even in its most recent information bulletins it calls the innovation activities directed by the municipal school authorities "teacher-managed experimentation". The share of this experimental activity in the total sum disbursed by Bureau L4 on educational research and development - for all five development centres combined (approximately 350,000 kronor in financial year 1970-71) - is no greater than the amount for one major project at one college of education. On the other hand, regional experimentation has also been considered so important by the National Board of Education that other educational development centres (at Skellefteå and Sundsvall) were set up on its initiative, unlike the earlier ones where the initiative came from the regions. Birgit Rodhe attributes this increased enthusiasm largely to changes in the management personnel of Bureau L4. At any rate the Bureau now has the following comments to make on regional experimentation:

> "A promising feature of development activities is the growing desire in school municipalities to start various projects and experiments. The municipal development centres stimulated by the National Board were also ... helpful with centrally directed development, *inter alia*, in carrying out curriculum projects. The National Board attaches great value to municipal development activities. They form a necessary supplement to national and regional (Author's note: i.e. county) development activities and, in the long term, are essential for regional activities. Without this local development even national projects would not be capable of further extension and growth. This 'teacher-managed' experiment in certain schools ... should, therefore, be constantly stimulated. *The scale and form of this stimulation may also entail supervision*. (Author's italics) One reason is that the

> municipalities often saw projects and experiments too much in isolation from the research and development being done at the behavioural science institutes of the colleges of education. These municipalities were increasingly requesting behavioural science experts to assist and advise them in evaluating the experiments. In these circumstances the best results have been obtained by establishing the desired co-operation at the very start of an experiment so that problem identification and the various forms of data collection can be arranged in a way that will make evaluation possible."
> (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1970(a), p. 4).

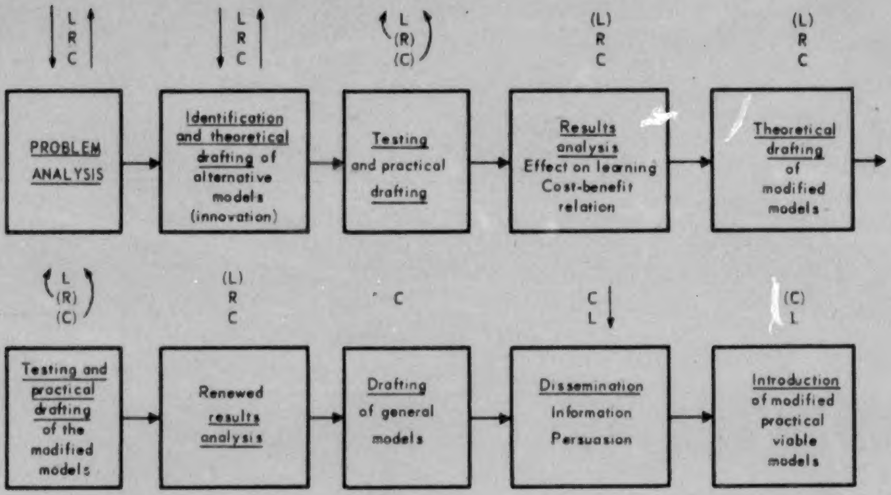
In the annual reports of the Malmö Educational Development Centre (Pedagogiska utvecklingsblocket i Malmö, 1964-1970, Vols. I - VII) Birgit Rodhe has attempted, on the basis of relevant international publications and conference reports of the last decade on problems relating to innovation and change in education, to assign a theoretical status to the experimental activity and development carried out under the auspices of a municipal school authority. It would take too long to mention here every step in the theory-construction process during the Development Centre's seven years of activity, but it does seem important to single out a fundamental argument in the discussion. Birgit Rodhe emphasises that the municipal innovative initiatives cannot conform to a linear strategy model, as is perhaps advantageous and customary for the development of industrial commodities or even teaching materials. In those cases development takes place in laboratory conditions and it is only at a relatively late stage that the field testing phase begins. Rodhe's counter-proposals, some extracts of which will now be quoted verbatim, are very closely related to the approach of Guba and Clark:

> "If ... the intention is to test new organisational and work patterns in the school, new relations between teachers and pupils, new teacher functions and a new personnel structure, and if the intention is to ascertain how school buildings and the organisation of teaching materials can best be adapted to these new work patterns, the main activity must be more aptly shifted at an earlier stage of operations to the actual school situation, in order to effect changes, find their optimum patterns and study their impact from different angles.

The development model needed for the development of those aspects of a new instructional model which directly concern work in the school is different from that needed for the aspects that mainly concern methods and materials combinations in teaching. This different model entails co-operation between the central school authorities (the National Board of Education), the research institutions and the municipality, which in this matter has various interests to defend, not merely economic ones. The municipalities, as the highest local authority for the schools, must take a more active interest in development activities directly affecting organisation, work patterns, personnel structures and accommodation needs. The following diagram shows an experimental model for this type of development activity:

Figure I

EXPERIMENTAL MODEL FOR ONE TYPE OF DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITY


L R C
L R C
L (R) (C)
(L) R C
(L) R C
PROBLEM ANALYSIS
Identification and theoretical drafting of alternative models (innovation)
Testing and practical drafting
Results analysis Effect on learning Cost-benefit relation
Theoretical drafting of modified models
L (R) (C)
(L) R C
C
C L
(C) L
Testing and practical drafting of the modified models
Renewed results analysis
Drafting of general models
Dissemination Information Persuasion
Introduction of modified practical viable models

"This diagram shows experimentally for the various phases of development a conceivable sharing of work by the central school authorities (C), the research institutions (R) and the local school authorities (L). For reasons of clarity we have not attempted any further distribution of work within group L, i.e. between the municipal school authorities and individual schools.

"Various organisational patterns would be conceivable as an outer framework for development of the kind outlined here .... For various reasons, however, it is obvious that an educational development centre of the kind described here can be a better organisational pattern for development that is mainly intended for testing new work patterns in the school, for new teacher functions, new personnel structures, etc. On the contrary, the development centre seems - notwithstanding what is occasionally asserted - less suitable for the construction and production of material. This, if it is to be done systematically, will involve resources quite different from those usually available to a municipally managed development centre.

"It is for the following reasons that the municipally managed development centre is a suitable organisational model for development aimed at changing work patterns in the school, etc.

1. The work should embrace all levels and different types of school, i.e. the comprehensive school, special schools, and upper secondary level (the gymnasium, the continuation school and the vocational school). The implications for adult education should also be taken into consideration. Only an amply diversified municipal school system can offer a sufficiently broad basis for integrated development of this kind.

2. It is of vital interest to the municipality to participate in the development and analysis of many aspects of development, e.g. the movement of costs and the possibility of rationalisation, the designing of school buildings, the preparation of syllabuses, the nature and organisation of teaching

materials and the possibility of allocating personnel for various duties.

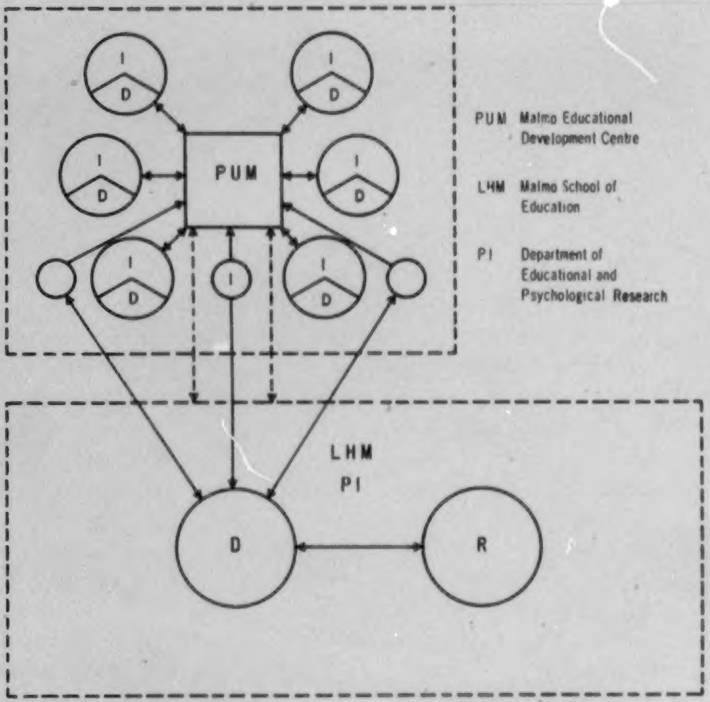
3. The head teachers and the teachers must have primary responsibility for development activities, in co-operation with other school personnel, the pupils and their parents, especially in the phase we have called 'testing and practical drafting'. If this responsibility is regarded as something concrete and stimulating it is probable that later phases in development, especially those we have called 'dissemination' and 'introduction' will also be made easier.

> "One might venture to conclude that in development aimed at innovations the important thing is to make sure that persons who can contribute effectively to the work of innovation are discovered and stimulated and that close contact is maintained with the 'customers' in the educational world, i.e. both the parents and the 'consumers'. A municipal school system is probably better qualified to do this than the national one, though it is also important that the national system should invest its greater resources in development, as regards capital input, 'laboratories' and 'market introduction', i.e. dissemination and practical implementation of the innovations." (Pedagogiska utvecklingsblocket i Malmö/Malmö Educational Development Centre/, 1967, pp. 103-106)

In her later contributions to the theory of regional innovation (Pedagogiska utvecklingsblocket i Malmö, 1968, 1969 and 1970) Rodhe gives greater attention to the problem of intra-regional co-operation between the scientific institutions and the school or the school administration. Since the relevant questions will be discussed several times in later chapters of this study it may suffice here to reproduce and comment on a diagram clarifying this intra-regional co-operation. The model was devised on the basis of Monroe Rowland's model for the interplay of research (R), development within a scientific institution (D), development in a school (ID) and institutionalised change in the school (I), and adapted to the institutional set-up of the Malmö region.

Figure II

INTRA-REGIONAL CO-OPERATION


I
D
PUM
LHM
PI
D
R
PUM Malmo Educational Development Centre
LHM Malmo School of Education
PI Department of Educational and Psychological Research

The sketch contains three types of school: schools engaged in development under the programme of the Malmö Educational Development Centre (ID); schools used for the field testing of scientific development in the School of Education (no designation); and schools which, as a result of the co-operation between the Development Centre and the Department of Educational and Psychological Research, symbolise the adaptation of the institutional change by the school. The diagram does not illustrate schools which act as research fields for the scientific institutions, partly, as the author points out, to prevent complication, but also because at the current stage of theory construction (1968) some Malmö projects had not attained the close interplay of scientific research and practical work in the schools which has now led to the need for institutional and organisational reformulation of regional innovation. This problem is discussed in Chapter VII.

Chapter II

THE ORIGIN, ORGANISATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE INSTITUTIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN THE MALMÖ REGION

THE MALMÖ EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CENTRE

Origin and objectives

One of the seven special experimental schools selected by the National Board of Education in 1958 was the then municipal higher girls' school (kommunal flickskola), now the Malmö Continuation School (fackskola) specialising in social sciences and commercial subjects, the Fågelback School. Under its then principal, Birgit Rodhe, this school experimented in new ways of instructional organisation, inter alia, inter-disciplinary instruction, flexible grouping, team planning and team teaching. After the progressive introduction of the nine-year compulsory comprehensive school in Malmö from school year 1962-63 onwards, the discussions between head teachers, teachers and the municipal school authority led increasingly to a consensus of opinion that the new demands arising out of the integrated organisational form, especially of the upper level of the comprehensive school, could not be met unless the experimental initiatives, which were mainly confined to that school and certain groups of teachers co-operating loosely with it, were extended to all levels and all types of school.

Also in 1962 Birgit Rodhe was appointed third assistant director of education in the School Office, where Lars Kjellman was director of education. There is no doubt that this team of educationists, which was characterised not only by dedication to educational policy but above all by the experience and expertise resulting from many years of experiment in schools, had a great influence, especially on the initial introduction of regional experimentation. The organisation of the School Office as such was not in the least conducive to such activities. Such facilities as the Office had for major experimental initiatives were of relatively recent date. Until 1958 there had been separate administrative services for the then elementary school, each gymnasium and the vocational school. At the beginning of 1963 Kjellman and Rodhe approached the National Board with a memorandum in which they advocated the establishment of educational development centres at regional level. The main idea behind the proposal was to broaden the experimental facilities of one school (the Fågelback School) by extension to the school system of an entire municipality, in order to

- give equal consideration to all levels and types of school, i.e. to emphasise both vertical and horizontal connections;
- ensure co-operation and the involvement of many teachers in different schools, and so avoid the overloading of particular schools and teachers;
- ensure that the results of the experimentation would not depend entirely on the special circumstances of a particular school with regard to personnel, materials and ideas.

It was also intended that the educational subject groups which had been set up as a result of the comprehensive school reform, then in process especially the upper level, should become closely involved in municipal experimentation of this kind. These subject groups brought together interested teachers in co-operation with the local school management, and they were potential nuclei for a variety of practical experiments. There also seemed to be advantages in the fact that Malmö had a school of education with a department of educational and psychological research, which gave promise of effective co-operation between "educational theory and practical educational action" [Statsverksproposition (Budget Estimates), 1964, Annex 10, p. 20]

The suggestion from Malmö was included in the budget request of the National Board of Education for financial year 1964-65. In the 1964 budget estimates (reference above) a special budget item was allocated to this request. Under the subsequent Riksdag resolution the National Board of Education in June 1964 officially established the Malmö Educational Development Centre. Its main objectives were "[to find] practicable ways of giving effect to the intentions of the educational reforms proposed or already decided, also at the levels higher than the compulsory school, [and] to facilitate the progressive revision of the curriculum".

In the programme of experiments for the first working year this general statement of objectives of the Centre was further elaborated as follows:

- testing possibilities of training all pupils in working techniques and working attitude ("education in study") under a programme supervising them vertically,
- discovering at admission and during the school career ancillary means of ensuring that as many pupils as possible can remain and be taught in ordinary classes (as distinct from arrangements on the lines of special schools),
- by means of experiments in co-operation and teamwork and by varying the size of the learning group and the work pattern at different levels and in different subjects
    - finding and promoting ways of combining individualised teaching and social education;
    - developing different forms of self-instruction for pupils - both formative and creative;
    - discovering ways of rationalising work patterns in the school, inter alia by employing various kinds of personnel with no specifically pedagogical training.
- seeking ways of establishing a central bank for teaching materials in the broadest sense of the term, and school premises in which instruction on the lines described above can be given,
- testing new subject matter, methods and materials,
- in addition, furthering all experimental pedagogics planned on the initiative of the National Board and/or the School of Education or some other similar institution.

The objectives of the Malmö Educational Development Centre have been modified and elaborated in each of its annual programmes of experiments (cf. Chapter III). The continuance and work of the Centre has been ensured by annual resolution of the National Board. The leading feature of the present development position (1970-71) is increasingly intensive co-operation between the Centre and the Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the Malmö School of Education. In a memorandum entitled "Educational Development at Local and Regional Level"

Sixten Marklund, director of Bureau L4 of the National Board, describes the "Malmö model" as follows:

> "The idea of the Malmö model is that the National Board provides funds from the research and development budget to a major school of education in order that its pedagogical institute will use them for scientific co-operation with one or more municipal experimental projects. These projects must form part of the institute's own research programme and be shown accordingly in the institute's budget request as funds for research and development. The National Board has to apply essentially the same appraisal procedure to these projects, which are conducted jointly by the municipality and the school of education, as to all other research and development projects." (Marklund, 1970, p. 8. Regarding this procedure cf. Chapter IV.)

In future it is hoped that the Malmö Educational Development Centre will be more closely linked with a larger organisation which is to comprise the School of Education, the County School Board with its Department of Advanced Training for Teachers and the National Board as well as the municipal school system. So far, however, no definitive form of this more intensive and comprehensive co-ordinating body has been institutionalised.

Organisation and operation

The body directly responsible for the work of the Malmö Educational Development Centre is the Planning Group, which is convened by the National Board of Education on the recommendation of the City Board of Education. The Planning Group is composed of the Director of Education for Malmö (as chairman), the rector of the Malmö School of Education, one scientific expert of the Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the School of Education, one representative of the County School Board and, as experiment leader, the responsible assistant director of education acting as permanent rapporteur. The post of research expert has changed hands three times since the Group was first formed, but otherwise its composition has remained unchanged.

Because of a directive of the Malmöhus County School Board, leadership of the Educational Development Centre is one of the functions of the responsible assistant director of education.

The Centre is officially assessed as having approximately 50 per cent of the assistant director's total staff; the State, however, pays only 22 per cent of the salaries. Dissatisfaction on the part of the administrative personnel is occasionally reported since this special function of an assistant director of education results in a loss of personnel from the general school administration.

The Planning Group appoints an Experiment Committee, whose members are chosen in such a way as to represent the most important projects in the current programme of experiments. The members are mostly teachers and head teachers, together with the head of the further training department of the County School Board and the director of studies (*studierektor*) of the experimental and demonstration school at the Malmö School of Education. In addition to the members of the Experiment Committee there are in the schools themselves and at the School of Education additional contacts for the various projects, usually head teachers, who are invited from time to time to attend the meetings of the Committee. In all, several hundred teachers in the city are involved in experiment.

Every year the Experiment Committee prepares a programme of experiments in co-operation with and on the recommendation of the city schools participating in experimentation. After examining the draft programme the Planning Group gives its approval. The draft programme itself is then submitted to the National Board of Education by the City Board of Education, as the competent authority, together with a budget estimate. The National Board adopts a resolution approving the programme of experiments and the amount of the State contribution. Usually these resolutions are prepared by an annual working conference between representatives of the National Board and representatives of the Development Centre.

Resources

The material basis for assessing the budget for the Malmö Educational Development Centre is the budget estimate submitted by the City Board of Education to the National Board of Education. Hitherto the right to claim any State contribution was conditional upon the municipality itself defraying at least half of the total costs of the Centre. The State's share of the budget was essentially intended to reimburse expenses incurred in respect of the Planning Group and the Experiment Committee and, initially, other personnel costs as well, such as project leadership - practically speaking remuneration for writing project reports, amounting to approximately the same per person as a teacher's annual pay in respect of one to two hours of overtime a week. However in subsequent years it was used for the remuneration of a special consultant on development (functioning as experiment secretary) and to pay for certain time spent by college assistants on project evaluation. The municipality's share of the budget in respect of the Development Centre was mainly used to defray the expenses of three-quarters of the office staff, later also the expenses of other personnel (such as project leadership - see above), as well as for any travel by members of the Centre, and expenses for teaching and office material for the Centre. During the Centre's seven years of activity the relative value of the State contribution has increased from 60,000 Kr. to 125,000 Kr. and then decreased steadily, whereas the municipality's share has increased, both relatively and absolutely. The budget movement from 1966 to 1970 is shown on the following table (in kronor):

Fig. III Budget of Malmö Educational Development Centre

	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70
State contribution	125,000	90,000	60,000	30,000
Municipal contribution	94,000	88,000	158,000	173,000
Total	219,000	178,000	218,000	203,000

This budget does not include any monies received by the Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the School of Education in respect of the projects it conducted jointly with the Development Centre.

The state contribution to the Development Centre was extremely small compared with the total expenditure of the National Board of Education on educational research and development (monies which went mainly to the departments of educational and psychological research of the major schools of education and the pedagogical institutes of the Swedish universities). In budget year 1969-70 the National Board contributed approximately 6.4 million kronor to educational research and development, about 30,000 kronor of which went to the Development Centre. The fact that financial year 1970-71 saw complete cessation of the State contribution is part of the strategy of inserting municipal initiatives into larger planning contexts and then supporting them - if at all - by financing the relevant scientific projects at the educational research institutes. On the other hand, the purely "teacher-managed" experimentation, i.e. not scientific experimentation, is to be financed entirely by the municipalities. The ratio of the municipal contribution in respect of the Development Centre to Malmö's total school budget of approximately 100 million kronor is almost negligible.

THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH OF THE MALMÖ SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Origin and objectives

In 1956 Sweden began to convert the seminary training of elementary school teachers, which had existed for about 100 years, into training at college level. To ensure teacher training with a scientific and research orientation the 1952 Commission on Schools had recommended the setting up of research departments at the country's major colleges of education (cf. Chapter I). The main objective of these departments would be to carry out educational research in conjunction with and related to the practical work in the schools. In actual fact, especially in the early years of these departments the vast majority of the research projects were projects on problems of teaching methods in the broader sense of the term and on the development and testing of teaching materials or methods-materials-systems approaches.

The Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the Malmö School of Education was founded in 1962. It had become provisionally operational in teaching and research by the 1964-65 session, with a scientific staff of ten persons. Since then the training and research programme and the staff and resources have grown considerably. Bjerstedt (1969, p. 9) gives as priority and selection criteria for research done at the Department, first, relevance to decisions and measures concerning current problems in Swedish schools; second, relevance to scientific theory instruction concerning the relationship of influences and results in the educational and instructional process; and third, relevance not only to the field of the scholastic imparting of knowledge, but also to personality diagnoses and personality development.

Organisation and operation

The Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the Malmö College of Education is, as already noted, subordinate to two different supervisory authorities (Fig. I). As a department of the School of Education jointly responsible for teacher training it is subordinate to the rector of the School, who is nominated by the National Board of Education and appointed by the Crown. Basically this relationship concerns all questions of teacher training (Training Section A), and the major questions of premises, personnel and equipment. The director of the Department, Åke Bjerstedt, is, however, in his capacity as professor, also a member of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Lund. Training Section B (the training of researchers, academic courses in pedagogics) is therefore subordinate to the official supervision of the Office of the Chancellor of the Universities.

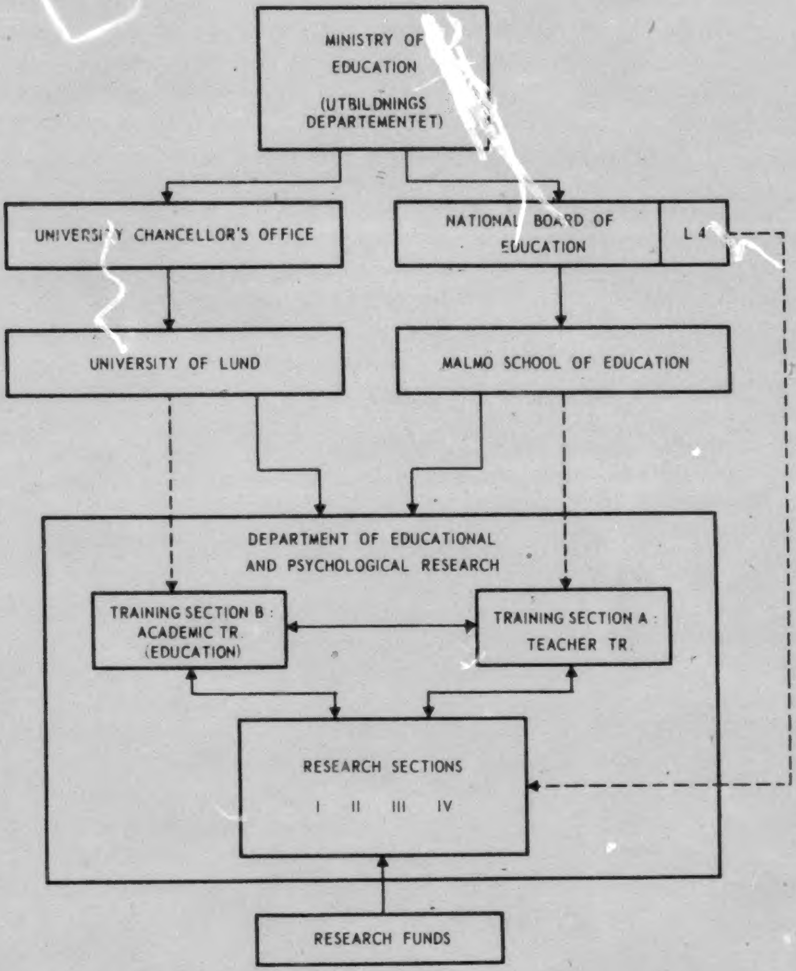
As regards the research and development it carries out, the Department is also directly subordinate to the National Board of Education (more precisely, to Bureau L4) in so far as over 80 per cent of the research programme consists of research operations commissioned by the National Board.

It is true that the annual commissioning of projects and budget allocations are preceded by consultations with the relevant research teams or the director of the Department, and therefore to a certain extent the relationship can be called interdependent. The annual draft programme and budget estimates are submitted by the Department (the procedure for verification and appropriation by various expert groups is described in Chapter IV). In any case the official links between the Department and the National Board of Education are much more intensive and direct than those between the Department and the Chancellor's Office.

The internal organisation of the Department is characterised by its twofold function of training and research (Fig. V). Training takes place in two sections, teacher training within the School of Education in Section A and academic training and

Figure IV

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH AND RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER BODIES

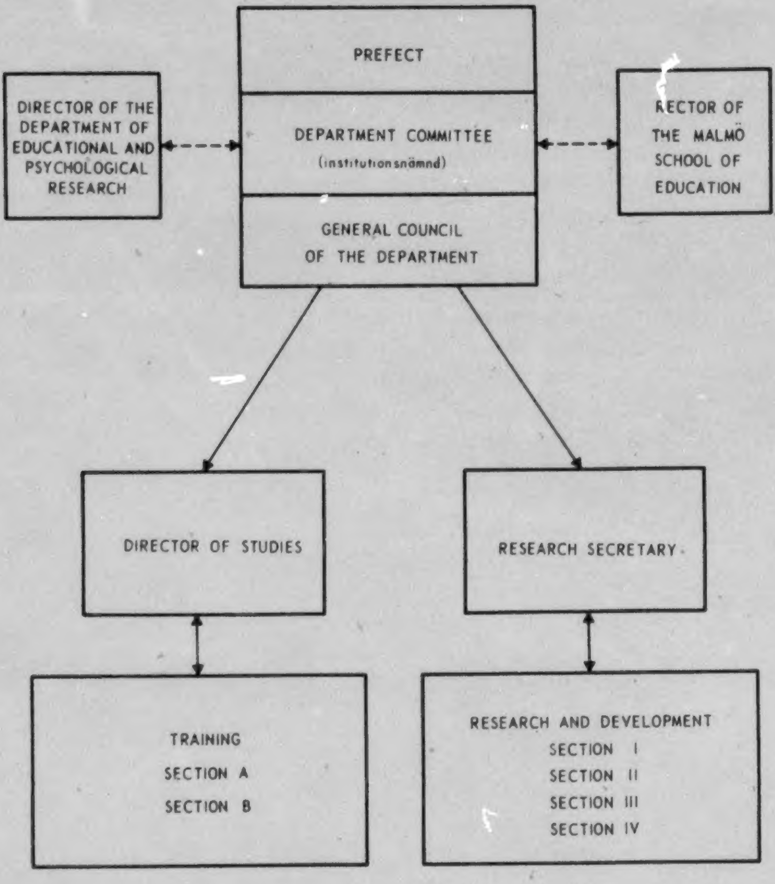

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
(UTBILDNINGS DEPARTEMENTET)
UNIVERSITY CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE
NATIONAL BOARD OF EDUCATION
L 4
UNIVERSITY OF LUND
MALMO SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH
TRAINING SECTION B : ACADEMIC TR. (EDUCATION)
TRAINING SECTION A : TEACHER TR.
RESEARCH SECTIONS
I II III IV
RESEARCH FUNDS

researcher training within the university in Section B. The entire training programme is co-ordinated by a director of studies (Studierektor). Research and development are carried out in four research sections, which are fairly closely integrated, e.g. in so far as two or more researchers are working on projects for which different sections are responsible. (For the specialties of the four research sections see Chapter III). The work of the entire research and development department is co-ordinated by a research secretary. The director of studies and the research secretary have in their personal capacity a purely administrative function, i.e. they are not, for example, empowered to give orders regarding the training and research programme. They co-ordinate the work in their departments mainly as regards staffing, premises and economic questions in accordance with the decisions of the Board of Management of the Department, of which they are both members, together with the managing director of the Department. The management of the Department, in the broader sense of the term, has been exercised experimentally since the beginning of 1969 in a largely corporate manner, i.e. by the General Council of the Department - composed of the Department's entire teaching and research staff and of representatives of the other employees and the students - and the Department Committee (institutionsnämnd), composed of the Board of Management and one representative of each of the groups represented on the General Council. The Prefect is chairman both of the General Council and of the Department Committee.

In 1970 the total scientific staff of the Department consisted of 74 persons, half of them assistants. One quarter were engaged in training and three-quarters in research. Only the professor was officially registered in both categories. The research work done by the Department is very considerably affected by the fact that most of the research staff do not have permanent appointments, but have to re-apply and be reappointed from year to year. This is true not only of the assistants; even the majority of the researchers at senior level have only annual contracts. Of course most of the senior researchers have permanent posts as college teachers, from which they are seconded each time for research and to which they can return if they are not so seconded. Although as far as could be ascertained no annual application for a research post has been refused since the Department was founded eight years ago, everyone finds this

Figure V

INTERNAL ORGANISATION OF DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH


PREFECT
DEPARTMENT COMMITTEE
(institutionsnämnd)
GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE DEPARTMENT
DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH
RECTOR OF THE MALMÖ SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
DIRECTOR OF STUDIES
RESEARCH SECRETARY
TRAINING
SECTION A
SECTION B
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
SECTION I
SECTION II
SECTION III
SECTION IV

22

kind of staffing highly unsatisfactory both for research and for training, not to mention the personal insecurity it causes. The situation is unsatisfactory for research since it involves a constant potential threat to continuity of work. It is equally unsatisfactory for training since the college teachers concerned have to be seconded repeatedly and for a relatively short period from their official "principal employment" and are thus entirely or partially lost to teacher training, while it is impossible to arrange for timely replacement, or any replacement at all, should replacement be needed.

Project work conforms to a fairly unitary pattern as far as the composition of the staff is concerned. Each project is directed by a project leader, often the initiator of the project, and in most cases is also supervised by a scientific leader (the professor of the Department or a graduate lecturer), whenever the project leader himself is not a graduate, which is most often the case. Depending on the scale of the project one or more full-time or part-time collaborators also participate.

This organisation of work was criticised by Passow and Postlethwaite (1970). They drew attention to the institutional and personal insecurity mentioned above that result from the short-term and part-time appointment of most of the researchers. They also doubted whether the scientific leaders of the various research projects were able, because of the large number of projects they are often expected to supervise, to give necessary guidance or guarantee quality control. Despite the increase in the number of established posts for full-time scientific staff proposed in the 1970 Report on Educational Training and Research (SOU 1970:22), Passow and Postlethwaite recommended that very careful consideration be given to the number and qualifications of these researchers.

Resources

The budget of the Department of Educational and Psychological Research is financed from three different sources. The basic budget, as it is called, is derived from the overall budget of the School of Education and is used mainly to remunerate the full-time research staff and most of the administrative staff. It comprises from 10 to 20 per cent of the Department's total budget. Approximately four-fifths of the remaining 80 to 90 per cent are defrayed, on annual reapplication, by Bureau L4 of the National Board of Education and approximately one-fifth is paid by other donors, especially the Social Science Research Council (*Statens råd för samhällsforskning*) and are normally spent on staff and materials for projects. Ninety per cent of the Department's total budget is used to remunerate scientific and other staff.

Budget changes between 1966 and 1970 are shown in the following table:

Fig.VI: BUDGET OF DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH

	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71
Basic budget	276,000	297,500	307,800	317,600	327,800
National Board of Education	632,000	1,106,500	2,008,500	2,695,000	3,080,800
Others	124,000	139,900	147,900	433,800	270,000
Total	1,032,000	1,543,900	2,464,200	3,446,400	3,678,600 kr.

It is interesting to note that the portion of the Department's budget financed by Bureau L4 of the National Board of Education rose steadily, in direct contrast to the trend observed above in the case of the Educational Development Centre.

The significance of the research done at Malmö is also clear from the fact that of the total of 6.4 million kronor disbursed by the National Board for educational research and development in financial year 1969-70, approximately 42 per cent went to the Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the Malmö School of Education.

Chapter III

OVERVIEW OF PROJECTS

DEFINITION

The following overview of projects (together with the project catalogues in the Appendix) includes all research and development projects which have been reported in connection with the Malmö Educational Development Centre and the research programme of the Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the Malmö School of Education according to the sources cited. (Here it is not necessary to include the project catalogue of the experimental and demonstration school at the School of Education since most of those projects are partial ones from the research and development programmes of the Centre or the Department.) In this chapter no attempt will be made to ascertain which theoretical models of research and development the various individual projects may represent, nor will the chapter discuss on what theoretical grounds the various projects and the "advanced practices" developed or investigated in these projects merit the description "innovative". In any case it can be assumed at the outset that it is the totality of the initiatives leading to these projects or of the projects themselves that has given the city of Malmö the image of an educationally innovative region.

It is possible that both the considerable number and the public impact of the projects may push into the background the solid and competent everyday achievements in the many schools and in the sectors not directly affected by these projects. In principle, however, it is equally possible that this goal-directed and strict experimental activity hides serious difficulties in other and more general areas of the everyday regional educational scene, that in some cases the activities commonly regarded as innovative and progressive are even seen by individuals or groups as an obstacle to the necessary continuity and balance in practical everyday teaching. At a later point the views expressed by groups involved in this matter will be discussed; the views go some way towards confirming the truth of both assertions at least from the point of view of the groups themselves.

The research and development projects directed by the Development Centre and the Department are not all of equal interest and relevance to this study, nor can the study be expected to offer a complete and detailed content-description of the various sectors and of the resultant "advanced practices". For this the reader is referred to the source literature cited or the contacts named. Instead, this chapter will give a broad outline of the areas covered by the various projects. In the appropriate appendices two project catalogues are given with some notes in the case of some major projects.

From a purely formal point of view some of the projects - in fact the most important ones - could be attributed to both institutions, since both were involved. In such cases a project is included in the catalogue of the institution in which it originated. (See Appendices 3 and 4.) Later in this chapter the background, objectives and procedural methods of four exemplary projects are described. These four projects have been chosen as exemplary partly because they have come to be regarded in Sweden and abroad as an important symbol of the work done in Malmö, but chiefly because, in light of the three criteria which follow, they can serve repeatedly as material background for further analysis of innovation processes in the region:

- The projects should be clearly related to the objectives of the reformed curricula for the Swedish comprehensive school, should have been converted into educational practice and should have, on however small a scale, demonstrably influenced educational theory.
- The projects should reflect various forms of co-operation at regional level.
- The projects should, because of their duration and their relatively widespread application, be suitable subjects for studying the aims, strategies and results of the regional innovation process.

PROJECTS DIRECTED BY THE EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CENTRE

At the outset the points of emphasis were defined and the development activities classified accordingly into four main sectors, on the basis of the general definition of objectives of the Malmö Educational Development Centre (cf. Chapter II):

- training in study;
- team teaching and work with flexible grouping of pupils;
- teaching materials and aids;
- curriculum revision.

It was realised from the start, and became increasingly apparent as work progressed, that these four sectors are not rigidly distinct from one another; on the contrary, their similarities are greater than their differences and peculiarities. For example, projects whose basic objective is the development of different forms of team teaching must be concerned simultaneously with the need for teaching materials and aids, and, of course, with content, aims and methods, and must also ascertain the merit-rating of all these proposed measures in relation to systematic education. The more the number of individual projects in the Development Centre increased and the more one probed into the problems connected with specific projects, and in so doing inevitably touched on other adjacent sectors, the more questionable the existing classification became, at least as a practical guide. The common aim of the projects started in the early years of the Development Centre proved increasingly to be a search for forms of team teaching with variable, i.e. didactically justified, size of pupil groups, together with the development of the appropriate materials and methods. In the working year 1968-69, these projects were brought together under the collective name of VGL (växlande gruppstorlek och lagundervisning, i.e. variable group size and team teaching) and were then classified on purely organisational grounds, as follows:

- Projects planned outside the Development Centre (and then adapted by the Centre for further testing);
- VGL (variable group size and team teaching); and
- Subsidiary experiments relating to the VGL project.

In working year 1969-70 a fourth category was added to this classification in order to include a further project which did not fall within any of the first three categories, namely:

- New methods in initial and lower level teaching.

(For full project catalogue, see Appendix 3 page 433.)

PROJECTS DIRECTED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH

The Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the Malmö School of Education has considerably expanded its research programme since its first years of operation. At the present time a total of 19 exclusively school-related projects are being conducted in four research sections. The fourth of these sections and the projects conducted in it were only added to the Department's research programme in the 1969-70 session. These projects are concerned exclusively with adaptation from the work programme of the Development Centre.

Projects are apportioned among the four research sections as follows:

- Section I: material-oriented projects;
- Section II: teacher-oriented projects;
- Section III: pupil-oriented projects;
- Section IV: projects mainly concerning working environment and organisation.

(For full project catalogue, see Appendix 4 page 437.)

Flexible grouping of pupils, subject integration and team teaching.

Background and objectives.

The present experiments under the VGL project (växlande gruppstorlek och lagundervisning, i.e. variable group size and team teaching) originated in two experimental initiatives in two different areas of Malmö (cf. Chapter II). Experiments had been going on since 1962-63 at two Malmö schools in various forms of team planning and finally of team teaching with variable size of pupil groups. At the beginning the approaches were very pragmatic and unsystematic, but the discovery of certain of Trump's publications led to definite identification with that author's thinking. On the basis of Trump's ideas and in light of the evolution of the VGL experiments, Birgit Rodhe (in: B. Gran, 1969, p. 8), formulated the following characteristics of the conventional school that were to be rectified by the experiments in VGL methodology:

- All classes have the same size of approximately 30 pupils.
- All teachers teach one class at a time, sometimes smaller groups, but hardly ever larger ones.
- All teachers carry out duties of the same kind, including many of a non-educational nature.
- In principle all teachers are deemed to have the same qualifications.

- There is no real collaboration between teachers, not, at any rate, outside the conferences.
- All lessons last the same length of time.

Researchers in Malmö (and in the United States) realised first of all the didactic and economic inadequacy of this kind of teaching, and the chief purpose of the measures subsequently taken was to increase teaching efficiency, also to specialise and decentralise teacher functions so as to achieve better utilisation of manpower and other economic resources. Discussions on the objectives of the curricula of the Swedish comprehensive school resulted in the addition to this motivation of considerations concerning individual and social psychology. With the agreement of the members of the Experiment Committee of the Educational Development Centre, of whose programme the early experiments had formed part, the VGL project developed into the core of all the experiments. In accordance with tendencies of the curriculum, the principal objective of the project was defined as an attempt to combine social education with an organisationally flexible differentiation and teaching individualisation. Teaching principles such as motivation, individualisation and co-operation became cardinal points of the experimentation. The work was rapidly extended from the upper secondary level to all levels of the comprehensive school. The overall objective of the project was defined as experimentation in different school types and at different levels in varying the size of the pupil groups and working methods in particular subjects with a view to

- finding possible ways of attaining the objective of the reformed school, i.e. "the combination of individualising and socially integrating instruction";
- creating in a practical way the external conditions for such instruction, as regards organisation of work, method of working, teaching materials and their location, accommodation, personnel structure, costs, incorporating pupil initiatives in planning, and contact with parents where relevant.

This comprehensive statement of objectives resulted in the starting of numerous specific subsidiary experiments concerning different levels and different subjects.

The entire project was much influenced and in the end fully permeated by a second experiment initiative at another Malmö school, also begun in the early 1960s. This involved the integration of several traditional school subjects in work sectors defined by theme and time factors. Here the primary aim was to rectify the considerable redundancy in individual-subject teaching which was thought to result in insufficient motivation and lack of discipline on the part of the pupils as well as in uneconomic duplication of work by teachers. Since it was necessary to plan such inter-subject teaching as teamwork, the VGL approach was naturally combined with the subject-integration approach to form one programme of experiments.

Procedures

VGL teaching is given in social-science oriented subjects (i.e. Swedish, history, sociology, geography and religion, and, in the continuation school (fackskola), consumer studies and psychology); in natural-science oriented subjects (i.e. physics, chemistry and biology) and to a certain extent in mathematics, as part of the IMU (individual mathematics teaching) project; and in English. The basic methodological principle is the combination of subject groups under project-type themes and of a number of classes, usually three, including their respective subject teachers, into large groups which work in series of joint lessons up to four in number. This is done in accordance with the didactic principle of the relevant teaching factor (information, discussion, question answering, problem-solving, material gathering, etc.) in the following different combinations: large group, ordinary classes, small groups, pairs, individual work. To take an example, two teachers join forces for discussion with only 45 pupils or look after even smaller individual groups, while the assistant conducts an information session (e.g. showing of a film) with the remaining 45 pupils of the large class. The methodological possibilities of the model are virtually unlimited, but are conditional on the following three important factors:

- the parallelism of the time-table;
- the availability of suitable accommodation; and
- the availability or constant production of individualised material, much of it partly programmed.

Gran (1969, pp. 15 ff.) has endeavoured to correlate certain characteristics of the VGL method with corresponding partial objectives of instruction and education by means of the following table:

Fig. VII: CHARACTERISTICS AND OBJECTIVES OF VGL METHOD

Partial objectives	Methodological elements in VGL project
Intellectual functions	
Development of an objective attitude	Discussion. Critical appraisal
Catching up on present knowledge	Teacher team, using the ablest specialists in the team
Adjustment to changes in the subject and in society	Training in work techniques with fact analysis and fact appraisal
Understanding of concepts and principles	Studies within structured work sectors
Understanding of causal connections and development of an integrated view	Co-operation beyond subject boundaries
The ability to apply knowledge	Self-instruction. Problem-solving. Submission of reports on work done
Social development	
Ability to co-operate	Work in smaller groups
Assumption of responsibility	Roles (chairman, secretary, etc.) in pupil-managed group activity. Participation in planning
Conformity to given standards	Discussion groups. Contacts in large class
Extension of the social contact field	Co-operation beyond class boundaries Co-operation with teachers and others in the school
Emotional development	
Broadening of experience horizon	Demonstrations and activities in the large group (films, etc.)
Unaided work	Large-scale pupil activity. Pupils' own activity reports
Balanced development (e.g. in relation to intellectual functions)	Co-operation with subjects for aesthetic education, also

(For references, see Appendix 5, page 443)

Remedial teaching to replace some forms of special classes.

Background and objectives

Until 1967 six-year-old children throughout Sweden, including Malmö, had to undergo a battery of scholastic maturity tests four or five months before admission to school. These tests were intended to forecast their emotional, social, and especially, their intellectual suitability for school. Children found scholastically immature on the basis of the test criteria were not accepted for admission to the ordinary first class, but immediately grouped in "scholastic maturity classes", in which they received special assistance with a view to subsequent transfer to ordinary classes. Children with a specific handicap, e.g. those with defective sight or hearing, were placed in appropriate special classes.

A need to find other forms of special education was indicated by scientific works which questioned the validity of the selection instruments, by research findings which indicated overall shortcomings in the scholastic maturity classes and special classes, and also by a growing tendency, especially among teachers, to differentiate the special classes on the basis of subject-specific or mainly intellectual criteria. (For details see Chapter IV.) In the search for new ways to assist "scholastically immature" children - to use the original term - the main objective was to compensate for the pupils' socially determined performance and adjustment difficulties. The idea underlying the experiments, especially those of two Malmö project groups was therefore to give compensatory help to underprivileged children by means of a particularly stimulating school environment and practical aids while at the same time keeping them in social contact with the ordinary class.

At the beginning of 1968 the Malmö Board of Education abolished the former scholastic maturity tests and, in the light of previous experience with remedial and special classes, progressively introduced remedial departments. First, however, intensified subject-specific special teaching was introduced. The 1969 Curriculum and Study Plan for the basic school makes provision for the introduction of flexible remedial instruction, designated "co-ordinated special instruction" (samordnad specialundervisning), in the comprehensive school throughout Sweden.

Procedures

The school remedial departments collaborate with the ordinary classes. All children other than those with serious and specific mental or physical defects such as deafness or blindness begin their school career in the ordinary class. Without any formal procedure the class teachers or, in higher grades, the subject teachers, in consultation with the remedial teacher, send all pupils with emotional, social or intellectual troubles to the remedial department. In certain cases the school psychologist, the head teacher and the parents are also consulted. At the present time remedial teaching occurs in two forms, each with a different emphasis, which simultaneously reflect the historical development of the experiments.

In the first, children are treated individually and, if necessary, in each subject by special teachers with specific qualifications, e.g. in reading, writing or arithmetic, or with reference to specific behavioural troubles. Treatment is given in special remedial teaching rooms which are furnished with above-average fittings and special equipment (e.g. instructional material in reading and writing for legasthenic children). The remedial teachers look after a maximum of usually four children, in many cases only one or two children. The length of "visiting time" differs entirely from one child to another. The absolute number of hours quoted in a survey (Nyrén, 1969) ranged from a minimum of 2 to a maximum of 200 per year per pupil. Apart from ad hoc visits to the remedial department the pupils concerned remain in the ordinary class, to which they are, as a rule, fully reintegrated at a later date.

A trend towards giving such remedial departments an increasingly subject-specific emphasis, i.e. a predominantly cognitive one, and certain discrimination effects apparent especially in the case of older pupils led the authorities to devise a second type of remedial teaching, which is gradually beginning to be generalised - not least because of the directives in the 1969 Curriculum and Study Plan. This second approach tends to replace the distinctions between the different types of special teaching and special classes, and those between work in the remedial department and in the ordinary class, and instead makes use of special teachers in ordinary classes. The special teacher assists the class teacher or subject teacher as a "helping teacher", a form of co-operation practised above all in the open and flexible SAMSKAP schools. Besides what he does for the individual pupil, the special teacher makes an important secondary contribution by the advisory function he discharges in the teacher team to which he belongs. (For reference, see Appendix 5, page 443.)

Individualised mathematics teaching (IMU)

Background and objectives

The earliest experiments (1959-60) from which the later IMU project developed concerned various forms of organising mathematics teaching in the elementary school and finally the comparative application of various existing teaching systems for the teaching of mathematics (1960-62). It was only after the experiment had grown from the individual initiative (Curt Öreberg) via the local initiative (Älghult/Kronoberg County) into a national project taken up by the National Board of Education (for details see Chapter IV), that the development and testing of a novel individualising methods-materials-systems approach became the main objective. A further demand situation had also been created by the introduction of set theory into the traditional school mathematics syllabus. At a later stage, when IMU had become a research and development project at the Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the Malmö School of Education the scale of the project made it justifiable to investigate, as the over-riding didactic theme, the possible effects of totally individualised instruction. In the light of these four aspects of the problem the objectives of the IMU research and development project are now defined as follows:

- constructing and testing self-instructional teaching material for mathematics teaching;
- developing and testing suitable teaching methods for the application of this material;
- investigating the grouping of the pupils and the utilisation of the teachers with a view to maximum effect of materials and methods;
- measuring the effects of absolutely individualising instruction with the help of the material constructed.

The educational objectives to be attained with the methods-materials-systems approach being tested are as follows:

- making use of the opportunity afforded in the Curriculum and Study Plan for selecting the subject matter according to the aptitudes and interests of the pupil;
- adapting the instruction individually to the pupil, i.e. choosing explanations, illustrative examples, illustrative material and methods of finding solutions according to the pupil's learning aptitudes;
- selecting the difficulty and number of the exercises assigned to the pupil according to his aptitudes;
- enabling each pupil to work at his own pace.

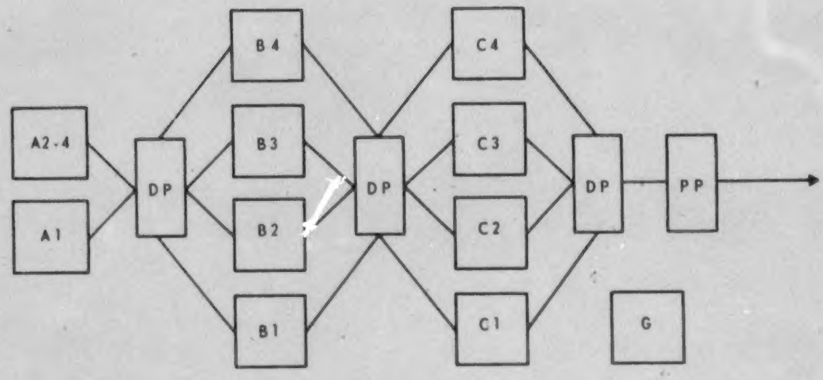
The IMU project mainly concerns the upper level of the comprehensive school (seventh, eighth and ninth grades); almost all that follows will relate to these grades. In addition one pilot study has been carried out at the intermediate level of the comprehensive school (fourth, fifth and sixth grades) and at the upper secondary level (gymnasium and continuation school). The purpose of the intermediate level study was to investigate the possibilities and effects of the individualisation of mathematics teaching and to follow them through the three grades. Use was made in this case not of material specially constructed under the IMU project, but of documentation of the Nordic Committee for the Modernisation of Mathematics Instruction, which had been supplemented for the current experiment situation with tests, training material, etc. The main purpose of the study carried out at upper secondary level was to test the attitudes of teachers and pupils towards teaching on these absolutely individualised and almost entirely programmed lines.

Procedures

The teaching material forming the core of the IMU methods-materials-systems approach is now available in its fifth version. The mathematics curriculum of the upper level (seventh, eighth and ninth grades) is subdivided into nine characteristic sections or modules. Thus one module takes about one-third of a school year. Each module consists of ten workbooks (components), each of between 50 and 125 pages. A module begins with two A-components (see diagram), which vary considerably in difficulty. Each pupil works at his own pace. Each component contains an

Figure VIII

IMU MATHEMATICS COURSE



introduction, which sets out the aim of the work on the particular workbook. The pupils find, inter alia, examples of questions contained in the concluding diagnostic tests. The components also contain diagnostic examinations which the pupils themselves correct. The teacher team is naturally always present and ready to intervene. The texts of the various workbooks are more or less of the kind used in good correspondence courses, i.e. brief information passages, model solutions, exercises, etc. Film strips, tapes and laboratory working material supplement the textual expositions wherever necessary. Once a pupil has completed the A-component he undergoes a diagnostic test (DP in the diagram) to determine whether the objective has been attained, as well as other exercises to indicate his aptitude for work on the next workbook. In this respect, therefore, the test has also a prognostic function. According to the results of the test the pupil is given a suitable B-component.

The B-components are available in four versions ranging from B-1 for the weakest pupils to B-4 for the most able. All versions take their subject matter from the same sector but vary in depth of approach. The four versions also differ as to the form of the directions, the choice of aids and the difficulty of the exercises. Once a pupil has completed the B-component he again undergoes diagnostic and prognostic testing, and the teacher team provides him with a suitable C-component. As the arrows indicate, it may be more advisable for a pupil who, for instance, has worked on B-2 to be next given C-3 or perhaps C-1. Since the individual components are meant to provide approximately one month's work, each pupil is tested approximately ten times in the course of the school year to ascertain which material is suitable for him in the next module.

The C-components are also available at four levels of difficulty and consist of self-instructional texts, examples and exercises. At the end of each module there is a concluding test which is intended to provide a comprehensive overview of the pupil's performance in the module concerned. In the fifth version the material has been further supplemented by a special G-workbook, to be used in group work and formal class teaching and for revision.

The work on the IMU methods-materials-systems approach has been combined with an organisational experiment, basically similar to the VGL system. The basic unit for this experiment is the large class of approximately 80 pupils. This class is taken by only two teachers, where normally there would be three, and one assistant. The pupils are grouped in one fairly large room where they work individually on the self-instructional material under the guidance of the teacher team. If necessary, one teacher may gather groups of pupils for talks and discussions. Working with large classes and substituting an assistant for a teacher make it possible to save money, which can be used in the school for other purposes. (For references, see Appendix 5, page 443.)

Teaching methods for the teaching of German (UMT)

Background and objectives

The need for a research and development project on the teaching of foreign languages grew out of a threefold demand situation (cf. Bjerstedt, 1965): in the first place, a shift in language-teaching principles, i.e. a reorientation from an out-and-out direct method to an out-and-out insight method had to be considered and then introduced in light of empirical data because of the early starting age of foreign language learning in the school and because of the different type of pupil population which language teaching had to serve in the integrated comprehensive school. Secondly, as a consequence of the integration of the formerly selective school system the differentiation and individualisation of teaching had become a vital problem from a general methodological point of view. Thirdly, these problems had become particularly pressing in view of an organisational imperative, that of the traditional and apparently unsurmountable system of class teaching. A group of 30 pupils is hardly ideal for speaking and auditory exercises; it constitutes an emotional barrier for a pupil who, in the initial instruction in the foreign language, suddenly finds himself as helpless as an infant.

The main objectives of the UMT research and development project are to investigate in a scientific way specific prerequisites and varied methodological approaches for the initial teaching of a foreign language (in this case German) and to develop, on the basis of these findings and with the help of continuous testing and revision, a system of teaching materials for the teaching of German. The details of the work on the UMT project conform to the following design (Lindell, 1969, p. 92):

- Analysis of prerequisites
    - Analysis of objectives
    - "Consumer" studies
    - Tolerance studies
- Analysis of pupils
    - Mistakes in free production
    - The auditory perception of language sounds
    - Pronunciation
    - Previous knowledge
- Analysis of material
    - Language frequencies
    - Contrast analyses
- Summary of goal, pupil and language analyses
- Feedback of the teaching results to the analysis of prerequisites
- Analysis of the educational process
    - Sequence of items in language teaching

  - Problems of research method in experimental studies
  - Methods of imparting knowledge and proficiency
    - With or without text
    - Ways of using language laboratories
    - Grammatical summaries
    - Combined methods
    - Word lists
- Attitudes to different methods of working
- Analysis of products
  - Course diagnoses
  - Final test with analysis of language factors
- The process of writing and testing study materials
  - A model for writing and testing
  - A model for individualisation and combination of different types of exercises
- Preliminary results from the use of a trial edition.

Procedures

Until now the significance of the UMT project would seem to lie more in the research findings on language-teaching than in the actual teaching material itself. This is because so far the scientific personnel collaborating in the project have, on the basis of large-scale investigations of prerequisites and processes, prepared and delivered for the material data which constitutes a didactical guide for material construction (cf. Chapters IV, V and VI). There is much less in the way of conclusive success measurements or product analyses; in fact, these will not be possible or meaningful until the UMT methods-materials-systems approach has been at least provisionally finalised.

The material for the seventh grade already exists in a second version and that for the eighth grade in a first version. Material for the ninth grade is in preparation. The methods-materials-systems approach consists of workbooks, supplemented by tapes, slide series and tests. The pupils are not assigned for any great length of time to particular courses or levels, but are allowed ample scope for free activities for which a range of materials going beyond the minimum programme is available. After each of the common basic lessons arranged at irregular intervals, the pupils work on "compulsory exercises" (auditory and writing exercises, reading passages, written programmes and language laboratory programmes) or on "free exercises" (essays, letters, role-playing) according to their interests and ability. The methodological core of the teaching is the textbook. The following diagram illustrates the work pattern: the common starting point is the lesson which is given on a tape. Pupils then have a choice of different methods, which are given as types of work at the No. 1 levels. The free exercises at the No. 2 levels are specially designed to promote individualisation.

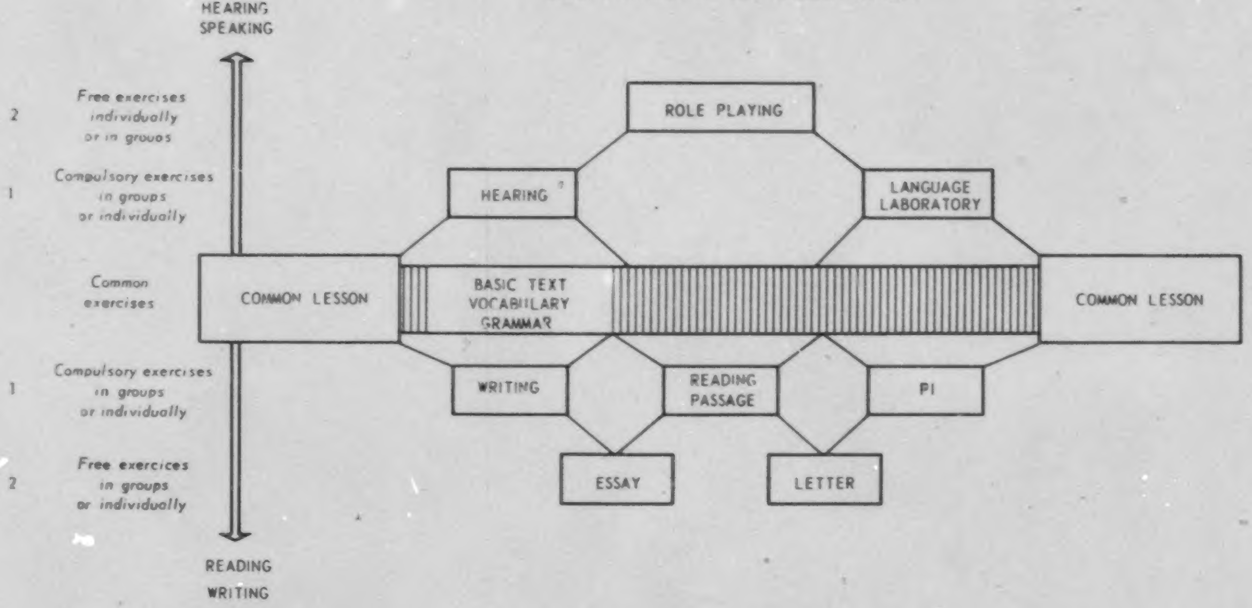
This does not involve lengthy assignment of pupils to particular courses or levels. The producers of the material point out two possibilities of individualisation:

- individualisation as to depth: all pupils work on the basic course and then carry out exercises according to their interests and capabilities, culminating in the diagnostic test; or
- individualisation by pace: after the common basic lesson the pupils prepare the material more or less completely until they feel capable of the diagnostic test.

The UMT material is not designed for such thorough individualisation as, for instance, the IMU material. The main reason is that linguistic communication in the learning group means more in language teaching than in mathematics teaching. Thus the traditional class teaching and group instruction retain a greater significance than is provided for in the IMU system, and the resultant grouping and co-ordination prevent the very feature of the IMU system that has come in for severe criticism, i.e. the fact that individualisation can be so intensive as to be tantamount to isolation of the pupils, or at least of those pupils who are at the top and bottom ends of the performance scale. (For references, see Appendix 5, page 443.)

Figure IX

WORK PATTERN OF UMT GERMAN COURSE


HEARING
SPEAKING
2
Free exercises individually or in groups
1
Compulsory exercises in groups or individually
Common exercises
1
Compulsory exercises in groups or individually
2
Free exercices in groups or individually
READING
WRITING
COMMON LESSON
HEARING
ROLE PLAYING
LANGUAGE LABORATORY
BASIC TEXT VOCABULARY GRAMMAR
WRITING
READING PASSAGE
PI
ESSAY
LETTER
COMMON LESSON

Chapter IV

IDENTIFICATION AND FORMULATION OF PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PROBLEM-IDENTIFICATION PHASE AND THE SOLUTION-FINDING PHASE

Previously, educational and research policy in Sweden had seemed remarkably homogeneous and consistent to observers, especially non-Scandinavians. While Sweden's centralistic organisation and the fact that the same political party had been continuously in power for three decades are unquestionably among the decisive external prerequisites for the radical changes in the educational system, they cannot explain the substance of those changes. The fact that the 1962 comprehensive school reform was adopted by a joint resolution of all political parties - except the Communists - is clear evidence of a far-reaching common ideology in fundamental questions of educational policy among the different political groups. Indeed, most of the other educational policy resolutions of recent decades obtained an absolute parliamentary majority. Not only in the curricula but also in the various manifestoes and programmes put forth by groups and associations of practically every political orientation, equality of opportunity, social learning, individualisation, creativity, etc., are among the concepts used to describe the highest aims of education. All who are concerned with the problem areas of education outlined by such concepts recognise the need for initiatives in research and development. That is why it is no accident that most of the current innovative projects are concerned with the testing of solutions for these problem areas. It is quite evident that in the last few decades it was the trends of social and educational policy rather than the realities of Sweden's educational situation that influenced educational research and development. However, it would be wrong to imagine that this broad consensus of opinion on educational policy and teaching meant that development was confined to implementation and adaptation, and that this was the meaning of the term "innovation". It is obvious that this broad impact is possible largely because of the general nature, one might almost say the semantic vacuum, of such statements of objectives, which conceal compromises that will not be tenable until they have become concrete educational practice. Thus the search for means of attaining such general objectives always goes hand in hand with an attempt to identify the problems. The formulation of solutions is at the same time the operationalisation and realisation of the objectives.

It is precisely the innovative projects which have reached an advanced stage and in which correspondingly specific educational implications are becoming apparent which show how realisation of objectives revives the contrasts in the ideological and educational conceptions of the objectives. At the same time no one in Malmö denies or fears such controversies and disputes; on the contrary, an attempt is made to derive new innovative potential from the dynamics of this "secondary problem formulation". Naturally such avowed acceptance of discussion and change makes doubly interesting the question of mechanisms by which the innovation process can be and is controlled.

CHARACTERISTICS OF INITIATIVES AND CONTROL MECHANISMS

Formal and informal initiatives

Malmö's standing as an innovative region was not originally due to planning and installation, nor was the city exceptionally predisposed by organisational or administrative circumstances for what happened later. As "innovative regions" other Swedish cities (e.g. Sundsvall and Skellefteå) are typical "test-tube products", initiated and promoted at national level - mainly, it is true, on the Malmö pattern, i.e. on the basis of the lessons learned from a "natural product". It cannot yet be stated on the basis of empirical data how these differences in origin affect the fertility of these innovative cells and to what extent their productivity depends on the presence of inspiring individuals. In Malmö's case at any rate - and this is true both of the Research Department at the School of Education and of the Educational Development Centre - it is correct to say that the organisational context and the climate in which the manifold experimental initiatives originated were and are characterised by the thinking and inspiration of the persons who played a vital part in the foundation and shaping of the region's development institutions.

Even after the Educational Development Centre was operating and after the Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the School of Education had acquired a large staff of researchers and was participating in a nationally financed and coordinated research and development programme it was often the informal initiatives that led to the testing of certain possibilities of converting the programme objectives of the curriculum into educational practice. This can be illustrated by the IMU project (Chapter IV) in which the private initiative of a teacher grew into what is now a world-famous research and development project.

The conversion of spontaneous initiatives into viable innovative projects does, of course, entail a formal organisation that is able to take up, classify and expand individual initiatives. The Educational Development Centre provided a formal organisation of this kind. In principle, research personnel to ensure the scientific supervision of such projects were also available. These institutions offered a guarantee that ad hoc initiatives could be carried on rationally and economically. They also permitted on a limited scale a systematic and purposeful search for ways of solving the educational problems, especially those raised by the 1962 reform. There were persons with ideas at regional, national and international level.

At regional level attention was concentrated mainly on the eagerness of individual teachers to have a say in shaping and changing their own situation and that of the pupils. It was believed that viable innovations can only come from a large number of initiatives of widely differing quality. Conforming closely to this strategy the Board of Education delegated specific duties to the subject groups of which more than 200 teachers and head teachers are members. One of the express functions of these groups is to draft proposals for educational experimentation. The consultants ensure liaison between the teaching profession and the Board of Education and it is their duty to take up problems recognised in the schools and to include them in the programme of experiments. Because of inadequate resources the Development Centre itself had no facilities for systematically seeking out problems, e.g. in accordance with a specially constructed design, and the scientific resources of the Department of Educational and Psychological Research were available in a few cases only. The representatives of both institutions often disagreed entirely as to the best way of using the researchers available. While people at the Centre sometimes felt that the Department's researchers lacked philosophical and political awareness of the problems, and would have preferred to see research done on as many projects as possible, using less ambitious research methods, the researchers, for their part, criticised the lack of systematic planning in the Centre's experiments and the reluctance to take the rules of research methodology into consideration.

While many individual research and development projects at the Department can also be traced back to the initiatives of the respective project leaders, they are included in the educational research programme co-ordinated at national level - approximately 90 per cent of them formally so, as projects commissioned by the National Board of Education. A comparison of the financial resources made available by the State, i.e. the National Board of Education, to the Educational Development Centre, on the one hand, and the Department of Educational and Psychological Research, on the other (cf. Chapter II) shows a much larger investment in the research and development activity initiated and carried out by scientific personnel. Bengt Nilsson, the research co-ordinator of the Malmö Research Institute has said that so far nearly all of the projects being conducted at the Institute can be attributed to initiatives of the respective researchers, even though they had been started and maintained by the National Board of Education (Bureau L4) through the formal process of appropriation and continuous financing. The vital problem areas have grown out of both the theoretical activities of Bjerstedt and his collaborators and the demand situation created by the comprehensive school reform of 1962. As a result attention came to be focused on the problem areas of "social education" and " individualisation through methods-materials-systems approaches". Until now no Malmö initiative for any project has been refused by the National Board of Education. This, it is conceded, is chiefly attributable to the fact that more money was available than researchers, a situation which has changed in the last two years. Even in the problem-identification phase an effort is made to exercise definite control of innovation by means of a national inventory and selection mechanism (cf. Chapter IV).

The influences at international level on educational innovation, on the identification and formulation of problems and solutions, are quite considerable. Besides regular contacts with various international organisations, direct influences from other countries are also evident. These include United States influence on theory construction in the major experiment in educational organisation (flexible group size, subject integration and team teaching), the influence of American and British discoveries on modern school building and some influence of other Scandinavian countries on the programme of experiments on remedial classes and on the IMU project through the Nordic Committee for the Modernisation of Mathematics Instruction. It should also be emphasised that in recent years Malmö itself has increasingly come to be regarded as the trend-setter at international level.

Control of the problem-identification phase in the innovation process

Everyone met during the preparation of this study was of the view that all experimentation should conform to the curriculum. It is the natural point of reference in nearly all problem-descriptions. Since this conformity is evidently voluntary and considered natural, the non-Swedish observer sometimes wonders whether there could be a more serious reproach for a Swedish educationist than failure to adhere to the curriculum. In fact it is not only those who are engaged in the various development projects but also their critics who invoke the requirements of the curriculum. Later on (Chapter V) the controversy around the UMT system will be described, a striking example of a large scale attempt to exercise control on these very grounds. Even the most vehement opponents of the Malmö experimentation interviewed during preparation of this study took it for granted that initiatives aimed at voicing their own dissatisfaction would be almost impossible since they necessarily feel themselves committed to the curriculum. On the other hand - and the same opponents would probably call this unconstructive on their part - this curriculum, despite its very precise rules about time-table and subject matter, lends itself to different interpretations of the overall aims and methods of education, and even experimentally a corresponding construction of teaching is quite possible. Moreover, it emphasizes the importance of local initiative in the innovation process. In a memorandum on "Educational development at local and regional level" the National Board of Education is called on to give such a constructive interpretation of the curriculum:

> "There are no 'correct' interpretations, but a local, regional or national school authority may regard certain interpretations as better or worse for the general interests the school has to serve .... A ... necessary commitment to development presupposes that the person concerned be allowed to participate in the interpretation,

> testing and evaluation. Consequently a remedy for the alienation of the teachers, to which we have referred, consists in constructive development, in the testing of new methods and materials, in appraising the results, in the communication of such results to others (horizontally to fellow teachers, vertically to regional and central authorities) .... Thus development work is largely the active interpretation of the objectives of the school." (Marklund, 1970, p. 6.)

The actual magnitude and the limits of this scope are questions that have constantly confronted the Educational Development Centre in its practical work. The first development centres, including Malmö, had been established because they had already made a start in other contexts with certain experimental initiatives, which then became the focal points of the later programme of experiments. Later, representatives of the National Board of Education had meetings at least once a year with representatives of the different development centres in order to co-ordinate the programmes of experiments. It is reported from Malmö that these attempts at co-ordination were not too successful as far as the Malmö Centre was concerned, for the precise reason that fairly clearly-defined regional interests were already involved.

At that stage the approval of the programme of experiments was little more than a formality. The main source of conflict between the Malmö Development Centre and the National Board of Education concerned financial dependence. Until all central financing was discontinued in working year 1970-71, this problem had been growing increasingly serious, though the issue was not so much the inauguration of particular projects as costly scientific supervision. The only attempt officially to control regional experimentation at relatively early phases of the work was the setting up of a liaison group to ensure closer linking of the work of the Malmö Centre with national interests. Malmö called this attempt a "blunder" and, because of its strong position was able to resist it. It is interesting to note in this connection that the later development centres (those of Skelleftea, Sundsvall and Uppsala) were started only on condition that they agreed to deal with certain problem areas.

In the case of experiments that were to exceed in any respect the limits prescribed by administrative regulations and the curriculum, permission had to be requested. The most important and most interesting example is the organisational experiment in variable group size and team teaching. In this case approval was obtained for transferring state monies from one budget item to another, so that savings on teachers' salaries could be used to pay assistants' wages and material costs. The management of the Malmö experiments accepts dependence of this kind, using the same arguments as were used when individual teachers or groups of teachers applied to the School Office for certain concessions, i.e. in so far as sound prior experiments have shown specific needs, such needs will be taken into consideration - but not before. This idea was expressed in one sentence:

> "Do not buy a folding wall to test team teaching, but test team teaching in provisional conditions and buy the folding wall once you are sure that the folding wall is absolutely necessary, especially in the long term."

Both in the inauguration of new research and development projects and in the annual re-approval of such projects as part of the budget planning for the country's educational research institutions a very flexible procedure has been adopted, which - as is emphasised at the Department of Educational and Psychological Research in Malmö - was possible because research funds were more plentiful than research personnel and involved practically no selection of applications or control of current projects. Under this procedure the project plans of the institutes were submitted informally to the National Board of Education, and the directors of the institutes decided, in agreement with the Board, which projects should be carried out. The relative scarcity of research funds and the growing number of potential research activities entailed the experimental introduction at the beginning of research year 1970-71 of a special inventory and selection procedure.

A first order of priority is established by the compilation of a preliminary list of problems by the National Board of Education, having regard to the general demand situation and the research going on at the time. The various sections of the

National Board that are concerned, the advanced training sections of the schools of education, the county school boards and some other institutions involved (e.g. publishers of teaching materials) receive this preliminary list together with a request to elaborate it in the light of the demand situation experienced by them. The catalogue of problems compiled after this systematic inventory is sent to the educational research institutes concerned which must take it into consideration in submitting their programme and budget proposals to the National Board.

The selection of the initiatives to be promoted, and consequently financed, is prepared by a Planning Council - consisting of three persons chosen by the Panel of Research Directors (the heads of the various institutes in Sweden) - having regard to subject matter, research methodology and research economics. The Panel of Researchers (the heads of institutes of the research institutions concerned, the Director-General and the heads of department of the National Board of Education) discusses the projects of the Planning Council and makes any changes that are necessary. The final decision on the appropriation and allocation of the research funds is taken by the Appraisal Group, composed of the Director-General and the heads of department of the National Board.

This official procedure, now being applied experimentally for the initial approval and re-approval of research projects, is the only formal control instrument for educational research in Sweden. Naturally it is supplemented by informal contacts between the Research and Development Department of the National Board of Education and the various institutes, or the individual researchers. Nevertheless, they are less relevant to the identification and formulation of educational problems than to the later phases of the work, in which results are already taking shape whose adaptation comes within the competence of the central educational authority. We shall discuss suitable examples below.

EXAMPLES

Flexible group size, subject integration and team teaching

The VGL project is an instance of innovative practices which were started by informal and ad hoc initiatives of individual teachers which were then "discovered" by the authorities and then finally expanded through co-operation between national and regional state institutions of educational administration and science into comprehensive, though at times much criticised, research and development projects.

As previously noted (Chapter III, the origins of the project go back to two originally separate working groups which viewed the problems and objectives differently. A group of teachers at the municipal higher girls' school in Malmö, now the Fågelbackskola, the continuation school specialising in social sciences, had set out to rectify through team planning and team instruction the isolated and consequently uneconomic individual-teacher work pattern. The headmistress of this school at the time was Birgit Rodhe. This initiative, which originally affected only a small proportion of school subjects and a few teachers,and was based almost solely on content and method, had, of course, been first sanctioned by the State in 1958 insofar as the school, at its own request, was declared a "special experimental school" by the National Board of Education and, as such, received a small additional grant of money. Similar work initiated at the National Board of Education by the Trump Committee was going on at another upper secondary school, the Malmö Commercial Gymnasium (Magistratsskola) under its then rector, Sven-Erik Eriksson,later and until 1970 a municipal councillor in Malmö and now assistant director of education in the Malmö Board of Education. When the present work under the VGL project is appraised, it is interesting that two of the key figures at the time, Rodhe and Eriksson - who today both occupy leading positions in Malmö's cultural and educational life - judge the present experiments from diametrically opposed viewpoints. Rodhe sees them as an important milestone in internal educational reform and Eriksson as an ominous and dangerous strain on the tranquility and continuity of work in the school.

The ideas of Lloyd Trump became a welcome means of expressing the problem-awareness of the experimenting teacher groups. They identified themselves for the most part with his proposals for a reorganisation of the planning and practice of teaching, and the first problem inventories and catalogues of objectives were obviously drafted on the basis of his writings. Since 1963 the regular aims and methods revision of the Malmö working groups was carried out in direct liaison with, and - as far as could be ascertained - subject to a certain degree of control by the National Board of Education or, more precisely, the Trump Committee, a working group set up by the National Board to discuss and put forward possible approaches to the relevant problems and to initiate or impose the practical testing of these approaches in the schools.

The VGL project, however, also goes back to a second individual initiative. Most of the teachers who after 1962 taught in the upper classes (the seventh, eighth and ninth grades) of the new comprehensive school were very dissatisfied with the poor motivation of the pupils. Many discussions in the profession centred on such questions as "how can I interest my pupils in problem X or object Y?" and "how can I prepare my lessons to make them equally interesting to all pupils in the heterogeneous class organisation of the comprehensive school?" A group of teachers at the Söderkulla School in Malmö around their then director of studies Nils-Olof Christoffersson discussed these problems and formed the hypothesis that the planning by individual subject and the considerable redundancy of material that this caused are jointly and decisively responsible for the pupils' lack of interest and related phenomena. In the social-science oriented subjects experiments were carried out in team planning for inter-disciplinary problem fields. The experimentation was, of course, already influenced by the team teaching experiments at the other Malmö schools and the conclusion was soon reached that subject-integration should not be confined to subject matter and planning, but should also involve co-operation in methodology and organisation of the teaching.

Today some of the educationists who were participants at the time consider it almost fortuitous that representatives of the National Board of Education learned of the activities of the Söderskulla School at a conference with Malmö head teachers and members of the Malmö Board of Education in 1964. Among the reports on early experiences with the integrated upper classes of the new comprehensive school (reports which were, on the whole, rather negative and pessimistic) the reference to this spontaneous experiment in inter-subject teaching, which had so far appeared successful, seemed at any rate to contain ideas for the further development of these experiments into a viable teaching principle.

The National Board of Education took up the idea of inter-subject teaching and urged intensification of the experiments. The Malmö Educational Development Centre extended its VGL experiments to the comprehensive school and integrated them from the start with the principle of inter-subject instruction in the social-science oriented subjects (geography, history, sociology, religion and mother tongue) and in the natural-science oriented subjects (physics, chemistry and biology). This subject-matter aspect of the VGL project, which in itself was primarily organisational, became increasingly important precisely for the lower grades. The National Board's promotion of the project led to the setting up of a development centre with special responsibility for this matter (at Skellefteå) and finally to the matter being extended and formulated as a didactical principle in the most recent Curriculum and Study Plan for the comprehensive school (1969).

After the dissolution of the 1964 Trump Committee and the foundation of the Malmö Educational Development Centre, the VGL project became the Centre's first and most important project. This meant that the continuous process of problem identification and the revision of the possible approaches that were being tested had been entrusted institutionally as well to the Experiment Committee of the Development Centre. In this connection the project could also take into account the activities of individual schools and teachers and was subordinate to the National Board of Education in the same way as all the Centre's other projects.

Remedial teaching to replace certain forms of special classes

The initiative for the first experiments in remedial departments in the schools was prompted both by the results of scientific research and by acute feelings of inadequacy among the teachers concerned. One of the main scientific pioneers was Ebbe Lindell of the Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the Malmö School of Education. As early as 1963 (Lindell, 1963) he had expressed doubts as to the prognostic validity of the procedure then adopted in Sweden for determining scholastic maturity. His arguments were supported, inter alia, by earlier investigations (Edlund, 1957), which contained arguments that seemed to justify doubts as to the efficiency of the scholastic maturity classes, as they were called. Later research (Österling, 1967) confirmed these doubts. Moreover, the findings made in the everyday life of the schools indicated that the non-selective placing of the "scholastically immature" children in special classes sometimes did more to increase their isolation than to overcome their performance and adjustment difficulties.

In light of these findings certain teacher groups in Malmö and Västerås began experimenting with possible alternatives to the traditional special classes. Two approaches were discussed and tested, first greater subject-specific differentiation of the special teaching in one-subject special classes and later the setting-up of remedial departments that would come into action only in temporally defined special circumstances, the children concerned otherwise attending lessons in the ordinary class for as long and in as many subjects as possible. In Malmö the experiments with remedial classes began at the lower level of the comprehensive school in 1965 in three rectorate areas, after the remedial teaching project had been incorporated officially into the Educational Development Centre's programme of experiments. The experiment was then progressively extended to other rectorate areas, but also and especially to the intermediate and upper levels of the comprehensive school.

When the Malmö Board of Education abolished the traditional scholastic maturity testing procedure in Malmö in 1968 it recommended that more work be done on remedial departments in the city. At the same time Assistentin Birgitta Nyrén-Gran, who was responsible for the scientific supervision of the project, did much to inspire those engaged in practical experimentation to give attention to the theoretical side of the experiments in remedial departments by her studies of the research situation and the state of theory construction in the other Scandinavian countries. What had been said on the subject of "Starting school and scholastic maturity tests" at the Aarhus (Denmark) psychologists' congress of 1968 was expanded by her, submitted for discussion to the Experiment Committee of the Educational Development Centre and so brought to the notice of those engaged in the Malmö experiments (cf. Nyrén, 1969, pp. 5-8).

In the subsequent analysis of the problem identification and formulation phase of the remedial teaching project, Birgit Rodhe, the director of the Development Centre, points out that the emphasis of the remedial teaching project was influenced not only by the stimuli already mentioned but also and especially by political ideology. Lars Kjellman, the Director of Education, has been called the driving force that has again and again made integration the keystone of the experimentation. Once it had been assumed that in most cases the specific handicap of the pupils is mainly attributable to social circumstances, the option in favour of special teaching co-ordinated with ordinary teaching seemed a logical consequence.

Individualised mathematics teaching (IMU)

The relatively widespread problem-awareness, which guaranteed the success of initiatives like the ones that introduced the IMU project, originated mainly in two problem areas which were much discussed in Sweden in the 1950s and the early 1960s: first, revision of the content of school mathematics, an aim which was sometimes expressed by the tautological slogan "Mathematisation of mathematics teaching" and which first became apparent to non-mathematicians when operations using sets concepts were first introduced into school mathematics, and, secondly, the need for greater individualisation of teaching, which became particularly pressing as the traditional selective types of secondary school gradually disappeared, i.e. when the nine-year comprehensive school was introduced in Sweden in 1962.

One of the many "private" experiments carried out in a particular class or a particular school was that of Curt Öreberg (then teaching at Älghult/Kronoberg County in south-east Sweden). It involved minor reorganisation, self-made teaching material and methodological experiments for his own immediate teaching environment, in order to find a way of meeting current demands. Between 1959 and 1962 Öreberg experimented by using for school mathematics correspondence course material available on the market. In this connection he also carried out initial comparative research on different ways of organising the teaching of mathematics. The promising interim findings caused the local school authorities to extend these activities in 1963 and 1964 to form, under Öreberg's leadership, a project coming within the "special experimentation" which was then enjoying modest State support. The aim of the project was to compare the effects of individualising and "traditional" mathematics teaching in the seventh and eighth grades of the comprehensive school.

In autumn 1964 the entire project was, in agreement with the then leaders of the experiment, included in the list of projects forming part of the research and development promoted by the National Board of Education, with a view to developing on a broader and more scientific basis an individualising methods-materials-systems approach which, from the analysis of objectives to the concluding evaluation, would be based on reliable research findings and scientifically supervised development.

The project was carried out at the Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the Malmö School of Education. The Hermods Publishing Company of Malmö agreed to co-operate in the production and future distribution of the material. Öreberg remained project leader while a scientific leader was made responsible for the scientific supervision of the project. Later, in 1969, it was thought advisable to make a more definite division of responsibility in the project management. Öreberg was made responsible for material production and for the activities connected with the practical application of the methods-materials-systems approach in the schools, while Lars M. Jivén was made responsible for data collection and evaluation.

A working group composed of an education scientist, the author group (a teacher, a mathematician and an expert in teaching material of the publishing company participating in the project) and three lecturers in the methodology of mathematics teaching carried out the analysis of objectives, on which the construction of the first experimental version of the IMU material was based. The objectives remained unchanged during the subsequent work, but there were very considerable changes in the structural and methodological design of the material. As the material was revised in a total of five versions, possible approaches in the direction of the desired individualisation were repeatedly modified in the light of performance and attitude data obtained from pupils and teachers, in each case after the testing of the corresponding preliminary versions.

Over the years in which the material has been undergoing development and testing the original objectives of the IMU project have to an increasing extent been viewed and criticised from a different angle and in association with different problems. Even the Malmö Board of Education has occasionally expressed the view that the principle of absolute individualisation by pace could easily prove incompatible with the social objectives of the comprehensive school. The following statement is found in a report signed by Kjellmann and Rodhe and submitted to the Malmöhus County School Board regarding the proposal of the National Board to authorise the general application of the IMU system in the

Swedish schools (cf. Chapters V and VI):

> "What is the purpose of individualisation?.... It appears ... that /Individualisation by pace of learning/ is leading in practice to great differences in learning between pupils with different ability. In one case the quickest pupil had covered almost ten times as much ground as the slowest pupil in the same period of instruction ... Is that what individualisation in Swedish schools is intended to achieve, that everyone should be able to run as fast as he wishes and as fast as he can, to eat as much as he wishes and as much as he can - with the result that the gap between pupils with different ability constantly widens and that the school, instead of being an egalitarian society, is one dominated by a spirit of competition and preoccupation with marks? Individualisation must certainly not assume these slightly exaggerated proportions. It may also mean efforts to even out the differences and to give everyone as far as possible the same chances of attaining the common goal." (Letter from the Malmö Board of Education to the Malmöhus County School Board, dated 28 February 1969, pp. 9-10.)

The awareness of the problems involved in individualisation, and particularly the educational policy objectives, have shifted so obviously and so much since work has begun on the development and testing of IMU material that a new policy debate has flared up, and the entire solution concept underlying the IMU methods-materials-systems approach has again been questioned. There is no doubt that one of the factors giving rise to this revived policy debate has been the tactics which the National Board of Education proposed to use in introducing an adaptation and extension of the IMU system throughout Sweden. This controversy will be returned to again in a later chapter.

Teaching methods for the teaching of German (UMT)

The general need for innovation in language teaching, teaching methodology and the organisation of teaching which led to the UMT research and development project have already been described in detail (Chapter III) on the basis of Bjerstedt's publication. In 1963 Bjerstedt had received funds from the Social Science Research Council to investigate the language laboratory in the light of communications theory and teaching methods. During this phase of the work (1963 to 1965) investigations directed by Lars Jivén and Horst Löfgren had concerned English, French and German. The decisions to extend this approach beyond the problem of language laboratory teaching to become a comprehensive research and development project and also to confine it to German were mainly attributable to three reasons. In the first place, some of the research on the language laboratory had produced very surprising results (e.g. doubts about the hitherto accepted general superiority of laboratory teaching and of the basic direct method approach), which made further methodological research seem desirable. Secondly, an acute need for flexible, partly programmed and multi-media teaching material for the teaching of modern languages had become evident. Thirdly, the Department was favourably placed as regards personnel in that Ebbe Lindell, the specialist in research methods and linguistic psychology, and Bertil Ekholm-Erb, the author of textbooks on German which were highly reputed in Scandinavia and Western Europe, could be prevailed upon to do part of the research and development in a modern languages project on German in the schools. The National Board of Education, from which Bjerstedt in 1965 requested additional funds for research on modern language teaching, also assisted the expansion of the original project into a research and development project with the double objective of methodological research and materials development, with a concentration on the teaching of German to beginners.

The problem-identification phase of the UMT project is remarkable for its permanence and for the involvement of all the groups concerned, i.e. researchers, language experts, methodologists, authors, publishers, teachers and pupils. The researcher and author group converts the findings of the basic research into guidelines for the construction of teaching material. This material is systematically tested, revised and, if necessary, standardised according to the performance or reactions, as the case may be, of pupils and teachers. This division of work into four interdependent phases - basic analyses (prerequisite, process and product analyses), construction, revision and standardisation - implies that the UMT project does not have a separate problem-identification phase, but instead aims at a permanent feed-back between research and development and between producers and consumers. It shows at the same time the fundamental dilemma of scientifically controlled production of teaching material - i.e. the conflict between the intended openness to continuous scientifically-controlled problem-identification of the basic approach, on the one hand, and certain external imperatives (e.g. the curriculum of profitability aspects) on the other.

Chapter V

ADOPTION OF SOLUTIONS

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

Forms of co-operation and possibilities of conflict

As already explained in detail, the centralistic organisation and administration of the Swedish educational system mean that innovative regional initiatives are only possible within fairly narrow limits and, in any case, in consultation with the central school authority (cf. Chapter I). At the same time it was apparent that in the case of Malmö the regional innovators - whether scientists or educationists from the schools and from the administration - have in fact been encouraged rather than hampered in the identification and formulation of problems and the relevant solutions. In those cases, however, where identical or similar objectives make efficient forms of co-operation possible, the direct relevance to the schools of the innovations involved seems almost inevitably to give rise to conflicts between the co-operating parties as soon as the time comes to decide whether and when to adopt a new approach.

The co-ordinating function of the National Board of Education in the interaction of national and regional activities has already been mentioned. The exchange of information which controls each project in the nature of things - as can be seen for instance in the VGL and remedial teaching projects - is also a factor, as is the cost-distribution, though in some ways it is very unfair. However, once such projects seem ripe for the generalisation of findings or interim findings, the powers to take decisions are evidently taken away from the actual innovators and given to the central administration. Generalisations are possible only in the case of national measures, e.g. the curriculum or special regulations. In practice this potential conflict until now has become apparent only in its early stages - though no less clearly on that account - because it is only now that the decisive innovative projects at regional level have entered their final phase. The 1962 school reform, for instance, was influenced very little by regional initiatives and not at all by Malmö initiatives. It was not until the Curriculum and Study Plan for the comprehensive school was revised and finally redrafted (in 1969) that anyone even thought of taking Malmö findings or interim findings into consideration.

Three of the innovative projects analysed here in an exemplary manner - the VGL, remedial teaching and IMU projects - are clearly connected with the redrafting of the curriculum. In all cases an attempt has been made to extend the benefit of the regional experiments to the entire school system, but in all cases there can be seen more or less definite central attempts to impose the early generalisation of practices that are claimed to be sufficiently corroborated.

In the case of IMU and UMT this conflict manifested itself in opposition between administrative and scientific interests. In the case of the former, alleged pedagogical progress clashed with scientific soundness; in the case of the latter the scientific studies seemed to produce findings inconsistent with the objectives and guidelines of the curriculum, so that there was talk of discontinuing the project altogether. Bjerstedt (1968) severely criticised on scientific grounds these measures

> "... which can easily be interpreted as the anticipation and disavowal of research effort. No one seems to realise in any of the cases that the purpose of the projects, once testing has been completed, is to provide recommendations together with instructions for further improvements in the system. Neither case shows sufficient appreciation of the requirements and both lack respect for empirical facts. If these two examples are typical of the attitude of the National Board of Education it may be difficult in the future to find really dedicated researchers willing to engage in serious product development under the Board's management." (Bjerstedt, 1968, pp. 23-24.)

On this same problem of the adoption of research findings as part of the innovation process, the researchers concerned complained again and again that they had no genuine opportunities to influence this particular phase of the process and that, in actual fact, the only latitude given them was to dissociate themselves in good time from potentially controversial projects. The administration, for its part, complained that the cumbersome methodology and at times the theoretical immobility of the researchers caused considerable delay in the innovation process.

A third plane should also be mentioned, that of co-operation or conflict between basis and superstructure, to put it in general terms. Although, as has been seen, the essential reforms of recent years were based on a broad parliamentary majority, although the new Curriculum and Study Plan of 1969 can claim, at least formally, to be broadly based, inasmuch as the municipalities and the scientific institutes were allowed to state their views at an early stage, and although there is a wellnigh perfect system for acquainting the individual teachers with the new requirements (cf. Chapter VI), the teaching profession and the teachers' associations have in the last two or three years increasingly expressed serious reservations about the zeal for educational reform. As Rodhe says, "the climate has hardened".

No valid research has been done on the scale and sources of the criticism. Just as this study is confined to a discussion of exemplary projects, only exemplary statements of opinion will be quoted. It will suffice to say in this connection that more and more people in the technical and daily press, and at congresses and informal discussions, are expressing doubts about the efficiency, and concern about the discipline problem, of the new school. The schools "are not endeavouring to impart knowledge but to distribute ignorance evenly" (Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning, 2 January 1971) and "a disaster committee is now needed to solve the discipline problem" (Sydsvenska Dagbladet, 13 November 1970). The very emotionalism, not to say irrationality, of the statements of even expert observers indicates that what is needed is, to quote Rodhe again, not only "the fullest information but above all communication" regarding the objectives and general policies of innovation.

It is, of course, virtually impossible to identify direct feed-back between the trends in the discussion of educational policy objectives and the policy of adopting new pedagogical approaches, but it may be worthwhile to have at least a glance at these trends.

Trends in the discussion of educational policy objectives and pedagogical objectives

Dahllöf (1970) has compared the objectives and guidelines of the 1962 Curriculum and Study Plan with those of the 1969 one and has noted some shifts in emphasis. Most typical are some slight shifts of a partly semantic nature which already help to characterise the continuing discussions. By 1969 pupils are no longer a heterogeneous "collection of individuals" but a "group of human beings". From a future "founder of a family" with certain "aptitudes and gifts" the child has become an "independent, co-responsible and dedicated member of society". The emphasis is on co-operation, solidarity and internationalism. Special consideration is given to the underprivileged, to minorities and to the handicapped. Educational policy is seen as an integral part of social policy; it is unmistakably future-oriented and for that reason is essentially a blueprint or a venture.

In 1970 the National Board of Education gave certain leading educationists - scientists, practitioners and administrators - the task of drafting theoretical programmes for further development in Swedish schools after the 1969 revision of the Curriculum and Study Plan. Some basic features of the draft programmes of two Malmö innovators, Birgit Rodhe and Göte Rudvall, will be touched on briefly (on the basis of Rodhe and Rudvall, 1970) since the impact of the ideas they contain is already apparent in the debates on the innovation policy for the projects discussed in this study.

Educational innovation, especially the future objectives for the schools and the concrete formulation of these objectives, should be seen to a greater extent than previously as an integral part of the social policy. This would entail a debate with ideological emphasis; the problems would have to be viewed against the conscious political evaluation and the long-term decision. The leading question should be: what kind of society do we want and what kind of "efficiency" have we in mind? Co-operation should take precedence over pre-eminence. Two contradictory aspects characterise the present debate on education, individualisation and the social aspect. In this context a definite priority would have to be given in future to the social aspect, so that, under the guise of individualisation, elite-formation does not re-enter the new school, which is really designed to even out social and intellectual differences. There would seem to be a danger at present of the overlapping social objectives of the schools being obscured by the debate on instructional technology. Serious consideration should be given to the question whether the essential aim of innovation should not be to make "learning for mastery" generally available in the school. This mastery concept could easily be defined by operationalised maximum catalogues. Pupils with an initial advantage who attain the common objective sooner would then help the underprivileged, so that in this respect the traditional demarcation between teachers and pupils could be made less rigid. All experiments with flexible pupil-groupings and with methods-materials-systems approaches would always be carried out in accordance with this definition of efficiency, and the applicability of all findings to the new school would have to be assessed in accordance with this definition of efficiency.

EXAMPLES

Flexible group size, subject integration and team teaching

It is unquestionably an innovative success of the Malmö and the Skellefteå regions that the essential ideas underlying the VGL project were included as fundamental teaching principles in the 1969 Curriculum and Study Plan for the comprehensive school. Special emphasis is given to the principle of subject integration and the principle of team teaching. Nevertheless this particular project seems to illuminate fundamental problems entailed by the adoption and generalisation of new teaching practices, i.e. the relationship between scientifically supervised experiments and the directions of educational policy decision.

In Malmö itself - and also within the body managing experiments for the VGL project - people still prefer to talk of an experiment in which everyone is convinced of the objectives and their implications for social policy and education, but in which also too little yet is known of the findings for anyone to be able to define adaptation criteria, much less flatly advocate generalisation. This caution and reserve and the intimate knowledge of the current problems in the educational scene as a whole also explain some of the reluctance with which the teachers of the region have received the 1969 Curriculum and Study Plan. Thus the editor-in-chief - himself for many years a member of the Experiment Committee of the Educational Development Centre - writing in the central organ of the Malmö Teachers' Association, to which all of Malmö's member associations and teachers' organisations are affiliated, comments on the publication of this Curriculum with little enthusiasm:

> "Concern about the future is apparent on all sides and there is no reason to underestimate its importance .... Because of the experiments in Malmö we know more about the new ideas than other municipalities. There is just as little danger today of a breakdown of teaching in our city as there was when the 1962 Curriculum and Study Plan was implemented .... Reports on the Malmö experiments reveal doubts among those who have had practical experience of the new ideas, but there are also many who think that the new methods of working contain many interesting and progressive elements." (Lüning, Leif, "LGR - 69" /Curriculum and Study Plan for the Comprehensive School, 1969/, Pedagogen, 1971, No. 1, p. 1.)

There is always a danger that general dissatisfaction with a professional situation, however many and varied the reasons for that dissatisfaction, finds expression against innovations that are conspicuous at the time, especially if their relative cumulation entails for the persons affected a certain loss of working tranquillity and of the supposed security resulting from habit. This makes it all the more important for a study of exemplary innovation processes to analyse those critical voices that merit attention because of the professional competence and integrity of the critics concerned, and so obtain constructive guidelines for later innovations. Three positions may be discerned, all of which contain arguments involving doubt as to the assumptions and strategies that have led to the generalisation of the fundamental ideas of the VGL project at the present time.

In the technical and daily press Malmö teachers, teacher training staff and educational scientists have stated in arguments, some of them unusually vehement, with the Board of Education and the experiment management that the VGL experiments in no way meet the scientific requirements of objectivity and interpretability. They make the following points: that the objectives of the experiment have not been sufficiently operationalised, either from the point of view of teaching or from the point of view of social pedagogy, to allow efficiency measurements; that little or nothing is known of the effects of teaching under the VGL system, and that only teachers' and pupils' attitudes have been recorded; and that this one-sidedness is not entirely attributable to the fact that highly complex systems like VGL which involve organisational, architectural, didactic and other factors, cannot be satisfactorily surveyed by the behavioural science instruments now available (cf. Chapter VI).

With regard to teacher training it has been objected that it is inadvisable to train teachers to use supposedly future-oriented working methods in the school - even though these are consistent with certain international trends - until their viability and efficiency have been tested. At the present time, it is said, work under the VGL system is still far removed from the realities of the ordinary school, and is accordingly unsuitable for teacher training.

The greater workload imposed on the teachers taking part in the experiments, because of the need to hold frequent conferences and to produce their own teaching materials, has been condemned as contrary to trade union principles. If such working methods are generally recommended, consideration must be given to ways of compensating teachers for the additional strain.

Although it is a fact that the 1969 Curriculum and Study Plan for the Comprehensive School has not prescribed the general introduction of the VGL system, but has merely resulted in the adoption of certain elementary principles, it is curious that the National Board of Education has made no attempt to corroborate these decisions, which have such far-reaching implications for the internal work of the schools, by means of broader and, above all, scientifically supervised experiments. The experiment managers emphasise that the scientific supervision of the project by the Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the School of Education first became possible when the essential decisions on the 1969 Curriculum had already been made. They maintain that the authorities did not wait for evidence from systematic experiments but in fact merely looked for some data to demonstrate a policy already adopted in principle.

Remedial teaching to replace certain forms of special classes

Unlike, inter alia, the teaching principles of the VGL system, which were taken up more or less simultaneously by the National Board of Education and given the status of guiding principles in the Curriculum and Study Plan, the process of adopting the remedial teaching project was marked by a lengthy phase of organised and scientifically supervised feed-back between the educational field staff and the school administration. In contrast to the VGL project, the remedial teaching experiments were evaluated earlier and, above all, more systematically by a scientist at the Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the Malmö School of Education (cf. Chapter VI). In this way both the interim reports of the local contacts in the various schools and the first preliminary scientific findings were regularly communicated to the Experiment Committee of the Educational Development Centre which - partly via the Planning Group and partly via the Malmö Board of Education - maintained constant liaison with the National Board in the capacity of information co-ordinator. The working groups engaged elsewhere, i.e. not in the Malmö region, in remedial teaching experiments were also involved in this exchange of information.

What struck the observer was the fact that the exchange of information between the National Board of Education and research in the person of Nyrén-Gran was effected with unsophisticated and unbureaucratic directness, something which is rare between scientific institutions and the school administration in other countries. It is, however, doubtful whether such direct feed-back is also able, beyond a shadow of doubt, to influence and change the researcher's own original interpretations of the research findings. To take one example, Nyrén-Gran's research showed that one objective of the remedial classes, that of making social adjustment to school life easier for underprivileged children, would probably be more adequately achieved in the traditional scholastic maturity classes than in the remedial departments (cf. Chapter VI). This very essential partial finding is still clearly emphasized in the précis of a preliminary version of the research report, but in the final version it no longer appears in the précis of the findings. (Nyrén, 1969, pp. 83-84).

The 1969 Curriculum and Study Plan for the comprehensive school prescribes co-ordinated special instruction (samordnad specialundervisning) as the most important form of teaching for pupils with specific difficulties in learning and adjustment. It refers back directly to the findings of the remedial teaching experiments carried out in Malmö and elsewhere, but also goes a step beyond these findings, since no definitive, scientifically corroborated findings are as yet available as to the success or otherwise of the flexible form of remedial teaching in which the remedial teacher co-operates in the ordinary teaching as a "helping teacher".

Individualised mathematics teaching (IMU)

The history of the IMU project, now more than ten years old, illustrates more clearly than any other project how and with what far-reaching consequences scientific and administrative or economic aims can clash. As far as the adoption problem is concerned this conflict may take place on three planes, although these are interconnected.

International interest, more in the IMU material itself than in the scientific approach, has led to very concrete adaptations outside Sweden. The production and testing of a Norwegian version of IMU began in 1968. In 1969 IMU experiments were begun in the United Kingdom and Ireland with OECD assistance. In Yugoslavia and Western Germany, too, various institutions and groups are considering possibilities of evaluating and possibly adapting for the national school systems the findings of Swedish IMU experiments. These examples are confined to contacts in which the IMU material itself is the core of the adaptation experiments. There are several other instances of the principles of programming and individualisation developed in the IMU system becoming the obvious model for new and special mathematics methods-materials-systems approaches without direct borrowings from IMU. A case in point is the "Mathematische Impulse" (mathematical impulses) of the Klett Publishing Company in the Federal Republic of Germany.

This international impact was probably one of the main reasons why, in 1968, the National Board of Education recommended to the Ministry of Education the regular introduction of the IMU system in Swedish schools. The following statement is contained in a communication of the National Board of Education dated 6 November 1968: 'Even if the final scientific efficiency surveys have not yet been completed, the Board has nevertheless found the data already available so overwhelmingly positive that the application of the methods-materials-systems approach should now be allowed in the schools." The National Board made this recommendation - as reported in Bjerstedt (1968) - without first consulting the Malmö IMU researchers and at a time when the efficiency surveys in question (cf. Chapter VI) had just begun. It was interpreted by the researchers as meaning the compulsory introduction of the system in the schools. One of the main arguments that lent justification to this interpretation was the basically economic one put forward in certain quarters, i.e. that IMU is less expensive than traditional mathematics teaching, especially as attention had gradually to be given to ways of offsetting the quite considerable development and testing costs. Bjerstedt, the spokesman of the researchers affected, objected strongly to this policy of early generalisation and justified his stand essentially by the absence of scientifically corroborated data on the long-term effects of the system and on its relevance to social education in the school. He summed up as follows:

> "We have still to find any valid reason for introducing the IMU system as a regular teaching principle. What the efficiency surveys now in progress should do is identify the strengths and weaknesses of the system, in order to make it possible to perfect the system. If, despite this, the more general application of the IMU system is to be imposed at this early stage, it must be made clear that the motives are not primarily pedagogical - that, at any rate, such action can hardly be justified by current research on the pedagogical effects of the system. It is obvious that the research data now available are still too sporadic to be used as convincing arguments." (Bjerstedt, 1968, p. 23.)

The Malmö Board of Education supported the proposal of the National Board, but made explicit reservations and requested certain modifications of the original strategy.

> "In particular it was requested, contrary to the proposal of the National Board, that the technical conferences and school managements concerned should be given more say in deciding for or against the introduction of the system: that the project management should play a leading part in the future designing and modification of the system; that the national decision should be limited until the findings of the current efficiency surveys were available, inter alia, that still more research should be done on the relationship between the effects of the

material and those of the organisation of teaching; and, lastly, that the interests of the municipalities should receive greater attention when the resources economised through IMU were used." (Letter from the Malmö Board of Education to the Malmöhus County School Board, dated 28 February 1969.)

The present arrangement is that the IMU system can be introduced in the school system of a municipality by decision of the Board of Education, if the school managements of the various schools so request after consultation with the technical conference and the teachers concerned.

At a purely commercial level the IMU problem has now become largely irrelevant. The IMU author group - notwithstanding the considerable and fundamental scientific problems and also notwithstanding the questionable adaptation strategy of the National Board of Education - has developed on its own responsibility a structurally similar but highly simplified teaching system for the teaching of mathematics (called "Hej mathematics"), which is on sale on the open market for teaching materials and already serves three-quarters of the market.

Teaching methods for the teaching of German (UMT)

The researchers working on the UMT project are not yet concerned with the adoption question. So far the work has mainly centred on supervisory research. There was less need than in the case of IMU for constant improvement of the developed material, e.g. in several different versions, since behavioural scientists, methodologists and language experts had from the outset co-operated directly in the construction of the material. Thus all research findings had a more immediate impact in the development phases including construction, revision and standardisation. Nevertheless the adoption question seemed to have become highly relevant at a very early date (1968) for the consultants of the National Board who were responsible for giving an expert opinion on systems for the teaching of modern languages. In a memorandum they recommended that publication of the UMT material, an experimental edition of which was then appearing in the National Board's own press, "be discontinued for the time being". The rather vague statement of reasons for this recommendation contained items relating to both research methodology and subject teaching. The relevance of preparatory and supervisory research was questioned and the system was said to be insufficiently consistent with the objectives and methodological recommendations of the Curriculum and Study Plan.

This view was the subject of lively discussions among those concerned, and in a reply Bjerstedt rejected the proposal of the consultants as "absurd" (Bjerstedt, 1968). He demonstrated in detail the relevance to the intended teaching situations of the research carried out and the relevance to the entire project of the partial research. Moreover, there was nothing in the UMT material to justify the assumption that it would be any less suitable for pursuing and attaining the objectives of the curriculum than other teaching material and methods for the teaching of German. He added that it was also permissible in a scientifically supervised project to question the objectives themselves, still more so the methodological recommendations for the attainment of these objectives. Bjerstedt's reply indicates that one of the chief motives for the intervention of the consultants was probably the fact that they were firmly attached to the direct method, whereas the characteristic feature of the UMT system is its aversion to all methodological orthodoxy.

The UMT working group itself has now taken over publication of the revised experimental version, in co-operation with the Lund Centre for Audio-Visual Media. Discussion on the project has ceased. According to statements by representatives of the National Board there has hardly even been an exchange of information. The scientific work is proceeding, but it is still quite uncertain when and in what form the material will become generally available.

Chapter VI

THE PROCESS OF IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

Evaluation and scientific supervision in the innovation process

To the extent that one takes an interest in the implementation programmes of particular "advanced practices" (and a regional study can only concern itself marginally with the general implementation approach in connection with the decisive, centrally controlled reforms in the country as a whole) the problems of diffusion and evaluation cannot be seen as unrelated to each other, much less be understood in a continuity of time.

All significant innovation projects in Malmö attempt to approach the ideal of scientifically supervised projects, in which "permanent evaluation" is ensured from the start by the linking of development and supervisory research, i.e. separate follow-up studies directly following the limited and controlled introduction of a model. Such a process was provided for and carried out in the IMU project as a supplementary and provisionally final step in innovation, but has not been the rule so far.

Either the insufficiency of research personnel or the lack of budgeted money for the purpose, whichever the case may be, has been blamed for generally restricting the attempt to ensure that regional innovative projects - insofar as they were organised in the Educational Development Centre - were usually placed under scientific control. An almost ideal combination, in which teachers, school administrators, teacher training personnel and researchers regularly co-operate, was achieved in only very few projects, e.g. in the fairly recent project called "Co-operation between pre-school and lower level of the comprehensive school (FÖL)". (See Appendix 4, IV:2). The experiment management personnel in the Educational Development Centre also concede, of course, that in the first enthusiasm of the Centre's early existence the need for scientific supervision was not recognised in its full potential and importance, or at any rate not taken seriously. On the contrary, there was a tendency to regard scientific precision as unnecessary ballast. There was doubt as to the correctness of the strictly scientific position that each innovation must be quantifiable. Who defines the criteria in accordance with which the methodologically necessary restrictions are imposed? Should an experiment perhaps be guided by evaluability as understood in measurement technology? Or should not the very complexity of education be kept in all its rich variety and be evaluated in its entirety - even if such evaluation is technically imperfect? It was while the spadework was being done in the various projects that these unanswered questions often constituted a communication barrier between scientists and practitioners. Moreover, the fact that the only post in the Planning Group of the Educational Development Centre to change hands (which it did a number of times) was that of the scientific representative was interpreted by some of the researchers as an obvious consequence of this basic divergence in attitude. It is also conceded that the researchers had too often and too readily accepted the auxiliary role assigned to them. Now, of course, in various more recent strategy proposals the gap between those viewing the problems from the one extreme of educational policy and those viewing them from the other extreme of scientific theory seems to be narrowing (cf. Chapter VII.)

The problem of diffusion

Insofar as certain models originating in the Malmö experiments have already been incorporated into the curriculum, the dissemination of these models can also be seen in a large-scale national in-service training campaign, which is being (or has already been) conducted to introduce the new curriculum. In two-week summer courses arranged by the National Board of Education in 1969 some of the Sweden's head teachers were trained in their duties as group leaders in introducing teachers to the requirements of the new curriculum. More or less simultaneously one-week information courses for senior teachers took place in the regions. At the beginning of 1970 both groups organised, under the leadership of the head teachers, study days for all comprehensive school teachers of the various rectorate areas. At these meetings the curriculum was presented in a general introduction. Those attending discussed the legal significance to the schools of the new curriculum, what changes and shifts of emphasis it involved, and what further changes were planned. The arrangement of the instruction, the objectives, the content and the methods of teaching were discussed at a later meeting. Finally the teachers were introduced to the planning and co-operation requirements for school year 1970-71. This in-service training, and meetings organised on specific topics, covered changes originating from Malmö and Skellefteå initiatives which had been included in the curriculum.

Such systematic diffusion programmes formed only a small part of the entire programme of the Educational Development Centre. Originally diffusion had not been planned for at all in the programme of experiments, on the simple principle that diffusion beyond the regional context is obviously something which exceeds regional competence. To a large extent, however - and this is also true of intra-regional diffusion experiments - work was hampered by a lack of resources for the purpose. Adaptation by the central administration was and is the essential condition and the green light for all diffusion of the findings of the Malmö experimentation.

According to those in charge of experiments in Malmö the attempt to disseminate the ideas underlying the experimental work within Malmöhus County independently of national diffusion campaigns was - despite certain positive achievements - a failure on the whole. While the publicity efforts of the Department of Educational and Psychological Research and of the Development Centre made it possible to satisfy the immediate need for information of all concerned, there was no place in the centralistic organisation of the educational system for the effective regionally initiated dissemination of innovative models. Furthermore, no suitable resources were available. An attempt had been made to persuade the consultants engaged in the county in-service training organisation to give greater consideration in their programmes to the activities of the Development Centre. The fact that relatively little came of these efforts is partly attributable to local rivalry, especially between the county's larger towns and cities. In Malmö itself the main reason why a certain dissemination effect was achieved was that as many teachers as possible were persuaded to co-operate actively in the experimentation. The members of the subject groups played an important part in this. Moreover, many ideas contained in the city's innovation programme were adopted in individual schools because members of working groups of the Educational Development Centre were given preferential treatment in the appointment of rectors. On the other hand, the Development Centre activists were not allowed to become the declared or too obviously privileged recruitment group for head teachers since the authorities did not wish to encourage the formation of in-groups and were anxious to prevent the erection of new barriers.

The group which showed the poorest response, and in some cases even strong opposition, was the group responsible for the first phase of teacher training, the methods lecturers at the School of Education. Even researchers at the Department of Educational and Psychological Research confirm that it was impossible adequately to interest most methods lecturers in the Department's research and development activities and in the results of those activities. The models and long-term plans for further innovation at regional level now under discussion will therefore include a greater effort to convince teacher training personnel more firmly of the idea of "permanent ability and desire to change" as a training objective.

EXAMPLES

Flexible group size, subject integration and team teaching

An attempt is being made, mainly at national level, i.e. with national measures, to solve the diffusion problem associated with the central philosophies and working methods that have been and are being tried out in the VGL project. While the regional impact visible in press comments, in descriptive articles by consultants and teachers in the technical press and in reactions from the teachers' associations during the early years of the Malmö VGL experiments mainly reflected an attitude of expectant and benevolent neutrality towards the project, there is no doubt that since 1968 or so there has been a lot of rather reserved and even unmistakably negative comment. Teachers who have taken part in the experiments have criticised not only their exacting demands but also their doubtful effects and have been turning back to traditional class teaching. Methods lecturers at the Malmö School of Education, who are responsible for the training of prospective teachers, refer publicly to the alleged drawbacks and dangers of VGL teaching. There are no reports of schools or individual groups of teachers outside the Development Centre having adopted the working methods of the VGL system. On the contrary, in the autumn of 1970 the teaching staff of one of the schools participating in the VGL testing programme (the Gullviksskola) even made a strongly-worded appeal to the Swedish Teachers' Federation and to all Malmö schools drawing attention to the unbearable situation with regard to discipline and the desperate plight of the teachers in the comprehensive school.

The appeal provoked lively debates in the mass media and in the technical press and obtained solidarity signatures from several thousand teachers throughout Sweden (including approximately 1,500 Malmö teachers up to March 1971 alone). The Hermodsdalskola, whose teachers sent a petition on similar grounds to the Malmö Board of Education, is also a VGL school. It is hard to ascertain whether there is any connection between this well-publicised and - as all concerned maintain - genuine dissatisfaction in the teaching profession and the kind of teaching and working patterns that are recommended generally by the Curriculum and Study Plan for the comprehensive school on the basis of the VGL experiments. The observer can merely note that representatives of the Malmö Board of Education regard the reduction in regional activities already mentioned as a reaction, inter alia, to the symptoms described.

The main reason why relatively little is known of the immediate results and the indirect effects and implications of the VGL experiments despite many years of activities is that scientific research on the development project did not begin until the 1968-69 session. Furthermore, the evaluation of the VGL project is fundamentally problematical; the range of research instruments now available to the behavioural sciences does not seem to match up to the complexity of the project. Per Sundgren and Bertil Gran, the Malmö education scientists, have singled out the following evaluation difficulties:

- The experiment has been planned and carried out by teachers - its objectives and scope have not been defined with a view to scientific evaluability.
- Practically all relevant experimental variables (subject matter, ways of organising teaching, methods, teaching materials, teachers' qualifications, premises, etc.) are interdependent, and it is virtually impossible to assess their individual effects.
- The administrative and organisational context especially, which is the one variable that decisively affects the experiment, cannot be kept constant, with the result that its effects cannot be measured.

In light of these fundamental considerations Sundgren and Gran have warned against hasty conclusions and premature decisions, e.g. decisions that might also affect school building, and have criticised the unduly subjective interim reports of the experiment management personnel.

The interim findings so far submitted by scientists consistently pass over the effects of the VGL approach (e.g. on pupil performance) and deal mainly with the attitudes of teachers and pupils. Nevertheless, the first indicative findings on the emotional and social significance of this type of instruction are also available:

- VGL pupils are, on the whole, more critical of the organisational and grouping patterns than the participating teachers;
- they are more critical of the relevance of instruction generally than other pupils;
- they believe that they are learning enough from the instruction;
- they seem to have more diversified and more deliberate views on democracy in the schools than other pupils;
- they find the social contacts in this new organisational pattern just as deficient as in traditional teaching;
- they even find teacher-pupil contacts less adequate than in class teaching. (1)

Since budget year 1968-69 the National Board of Education has appropriated more and more financial resources for the scientific evaluation of the VGL project, the figure for budget year 1970-71 being 145,000 kronor. The more intensive co-operation this allows between development and research in the VGL project is almost a model of co-operation between school authorities and scientific institutions at regional level.

In the meantime, however, the draft of a comprehensive research design, with analysis of variants, for comparative research on pupil development as affected by teaching patterns conforming to the VGL approach has been submitted. It is not yet apparent whether modifications of the recommendations already expressed in the 1969 Curriculum and Study Plan on the

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1) Wolfgang-P. Teschner, "Team Teaching. Fächerintegration und flexible Differenzierung in Schweden: Das Malmöer VGL - Projekt zwischen Erwartung und Erfahrung", in H.-W. Dechert (Ed.) "Team Teaching", Piper, München, 1972.

basis of the forthcoming findings are contemplated. Despite this new involvement of research in the VGL project the fundamental problem in the view of the experiment management personnel nevertheless remains that, particularly in such radically innovative projects, science can easily take on a restrictive and retarding function and that, in any case - since it is always lagging behind - it can be of little assistance when decisions are taken on long-term objectives of educational policy of the kind that are likely to grow out of such innovative projects.

Malmö is doubly involved in the process of the diffusion of the ideas the VGL experiments have provided to the 1969 Curriculum and Study Plan, especially subject integration and team teaching. First, as part of the large-scale in-service training and initiation campaign described above to promote the implementation of the new curriculum, instructional booklets were written to assist all head teachers in Sweden. Teachers and head teachers of VGL schools in Malmö and Skellefteå collaborated in their preparation. This in-service training material is read through and fully discussed at study days organised by the National Board of Education. It is intended that the ideas and suggestions the booklets contain will be passed on by head teachers to the various schools. Secondly, the Malmöhus County School Board also organised study days for head teachers in the region, at which the teachers participating in the VGL experiments spoke and discussed as experts.

Remedial teaching to replace certain forms of special classes'

Since remedial teaching is by its nature first and foremost a specific problem of a clearly defined category of teachers - the "special" teachers - it is in principle easier to ensure the implementation and diffusion of the new approaches in special education than of the new approaches in the other cases discussed in this study. Within the region the basic ideas and practical problems of co-ordinated special teaching have been incorporated into the training programme of the special teacher stream at the Malmö School of Education. Scientists of the Department of Educational and Psychological Research who have taken part in the supervision and evaluation of remedial teaching teach in the special stream of the School of Education. The special teachers already in service are instructed in the new requirements at the systematic summer courses of in-service training organised at regional and national level. There has, so far, been little direct integration of the present Malmö experimental findings into these training programmes; for instance, the participating teachers have not been invited to act as speakers or discussion leaders in the courses themselves to the extent that this has happened in the case of VGL. As already mentioned, however, permanent liaison with the practical experiments in Malmö has been assured by the exchange of findings with the National Board of Education and by the permanent liaison between the in-service training consultant for Malmöhus County and the Educational Development Centre.

The example of remedial teaching makes it clear that evaluation must not be interpreted - at any rate not exclusively or primarily - as a well-defined and relatively late phase of an innovation process. Instead a working pattern was adopted which is best described by the German expression "wissenschaftliche Begleitung"(1). This expression connotes a procedure whereby a field-controlled or a more or less politically controlled innovation strategy is subjected at relatively early stages (e.g. the problem-identification phase or the objective-revision phase) with its interim findings to scientific inspection without direct control of the project being surrendered to science or to the scientists. In principle this is the underlying concept of the entire Educational Development Centre, although the remedial teaching project is one of the few concrete projects in which it has really been applied.

In fact this procedure is potentially limited by the willingness of the initiators and controllers to await and have regard to scientific findings and also by the willingness of the scientists to invest their expert knowledge in a project controlled by others. While this willingness on the part of the scientists is much greater than is customary in Germany, for instance(2), other projects (e.g. IMU and UMT) have shown that

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1) Translator's note: Apparently no real equivalent has so far been found in either Swedish or English, although "scientific supervision" in the sense of scientific support is close.

2) The extent to which such willingness may be attributable to the remarkable lack of independence and insecurity of employment of most of Sweden's educational scientists is discussed elsewhere.

the "art of waiting for facts" (Bjerstedt) is not a strong point of the Swedish political authorities.

So far nothing definite can be said about the achievements of the co-ordinated special teaching or flexible remedial teaching provided for in the Curriculum and Study Plan for the comprehensive school in the broad field of education, especially as this more flexible form of special education has not yet been the subject of scientific supervisory research. Nyrén-Gran's findings indicate that there will still be categories of pupils whose performance deficiencies or emotional troubles will be corrected by partial isolation in special remedial departments rather than by the "helping teacher" in the ordinary class. A field survey to compare the effects of the various types of special education is advocated by the same scientist (Nyrén-Gran), but has not yet been planned because of insufficient resources.

The lessons learned from the remedial teaching experiments have greatly influenced other educational activities, which means that long-term consequences extending beyond the immediate problem sector of special education are likely. The architectural and pedagogical concept of the SAMSKAP schools, for instance, is inspired by the fundamental idea of flexible remedial teaching for children with learning difficulties and behavioural troubles. The same is true of the attempt made in the FÖL project to implement inter-grade initial teaching by integrating the pre-school and the lower level of the comprehensive school. The National Board of Education also set up a working group of its own to examine the problem of the "internal work of the school" (skolans innre arbete or SIA), especially in the light of the finding that the organisational integration of the traditional schools into the nine-year comprehensive school (1962) has not only failed to solve the pedagogical problems caused by maladjusted pupils and those with learning difficulties but has rather made these problems even more apparent. This expanding effect of the remedial teaching project makes the broader-based evaluation called for above seem doubly appropriate.

Individualised teaching of mathematics (IMU)

From the start the declared objective of the IMU project (cf. Chapter III) was the scientific supervision of the production of IMU material. The evaluation of the system is ensured by the continuous reference of the findings of prerequisite process and product analyses to the material, and is therefore an integral part of the actual construction. In particular, the initial construction was preceded by preliminary research on structural and subject-matter aspects of the material and on methodological and administrative aspects of the instruction, as well as by systematic micro-objective analyses. The continuous revisions of the material itself were based on sample surveys of, as a rule, fairly small groups of pupils (75 in version 1). The essential purpose of these investigations was to ascertain which problems the pupil could not solve, which types of mistakes occurred, how much time was needed for each section of the work, what questions the teacher was asked, which words or passages were considered difficult, how much time the pupil spent on homework and what results he obtained in the diagnostic tests. The evaluatory research in the narrower sense of the term consisted of the actual efficiency measurements which began in 1968 and will not present final results before the 1971-72 session. Both cognitive-intellectual aspects and emotional and social aspects are evaluated.

In particular, data involving more than 10,000 pupils on the following subjects are being collected and evaluated (Jivén and Öreberg 1968, pp. 11-13):

- Knowledge and skills (mathematical knowledge and skills, reading proficiency and study technique, ability to work alone, ability to co-operate).
- Attitudes of the pupils (to material, content, work pattern, organisational patterns and school situation).
- Attitudes of the teachers, assistants and head teachers (to material, etc.).
- Effects of rationalisation (demand for teachers and assistants, questions connected with the time-table, accommodation needs, total costs).
- Description of the material (e.g. scale, legibility, item analyses of the exercises and tests, time spent).
- Description of the teaching (activities of teachers, assistants and pupils during the lessons).
- Special education, psychological and sociological questions (e.g. in the case of pupils from different kinds of special classes or in the case of timid pupils; teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil social relations).

The system was modified continuously by the production of new versions; currently the fifth and provisionally final version is available. A more important role in this context seems to be played by the problem that has arisen with the renewed raising of the individualisation question as a whole. On the one hand, the basic tendencies, as expressed in the 1969 Curriculum and Study Plan, towards greater individualisation of teaching have clearly been influenced by the IMU discussion; on the other hand, the same IMU discussion has created new and fundamental doubts as to the possibilities of individualisation, especially its objectives (cf. Chapter IV), which may have contributed to a certain shift of emphasis in the fundamental educational policy ideology, as described above (Chapter V).

In the case of the IMU project the diffusion problem is not yet as urgent as in the case of innovative practices that are already fully generalised. It is significant for the schools and teachers already beginning to work with the IMU system - though not involved in the actual programme of experiments. For such cases the Hermods Publishing Company, which is producing the IMU material, employs "service teachers" who give advice personally or by telephone and participate when requested in the relevant technical conferences. The in-service training programme for mathematics teachers (the Delta project), though not directly related to IMU, is nevertheless indirectly related to the specific theoretical and methodological principles of modern mathematics teaching, i.e. of the IMU system too. Under the Delta project all teachers of mathematics in the comprehensive school are progressively introduced to the new mathematics by means of broadcast courses organised by the Swedish Radio Corporation in collaboration with the Hermods Publishing Company.

Teaching methods for the teaching of German (UMT)

Here, as in the IMU project, the development of material has been scientifically supervised from the start. In the UMT project the emphasis is much more clearly on the preparatory methodological research which controls the development work (cf. Chapter III). So far no evaluation based on follow-up measurements of suitable random samples has been attempted, and it is as yet completely uncertain when, by whom and how the material is to be generally disseminated in the educational system. The final phase of material construction will not be completed before

1973. At the moment it is not possible and, in the view of the UMT working group, not advisable either to make any speculations about implementation problems in connection with the UMT project.

Chapter VII

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE THEORETICAL STATUS OF INNOVATIVE ACTIVITIES IN THE MALMO REGION AND FURTHER OUTLOOK

MODELS AND FURTHER OUTLOOK FOR EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION AT REGIONAL LEVEL, AS VIEWED FROM MALMÖ

By virtue of a resolution of the National Board of Education the Malmö Educational Development Centre ceased to exist in its previous organisational pattern of State and municipal co-operation in the autumn of 1970. The practical effect of this resolution is that in budget year 1970-71 the city of Malmö received no State (i.e. national) funds in respect of its municipally managed experimental activity. The municipality nevertheless wished this activity to continue not only on grounds of principle, but also and especially because efforts had been made in the past to bring about co-operation between the Malmö Board of Education and the Department of Educational and Psychological Research at the School of Education which would now have to be expanded and further developed, since purely municipal experimentation without scientific support now seemed neither possible nor desirable. The drafting of new forms of co-operation between the State and municipal school authorities, on the one hand, and the Department of Educational and Psychological Research, on the other, was therefore started. This meant that the State could finance individual projects mainly via the research estimate of the Department of Educational and Psychological Research. Such monies could only go to municipal experimentation indirectly, and only insofar as the city school authority co-operated with the Department in a particular project.

This change of procedure, which seems a purely formal one, in fact implies much firmer outside control of experiments, since each appropriation of funds must now conform to the allocation procedure described above (cf. Chapter IV) and consequently the projects are subject to continuous process and product analysis by this control mechanism. Some long-term aspects of the construction of such models of co-operative innovation at regional level will now be examined.

According to Birgit Rodhe a long-term draft of innovation models must rectify the following three defects of the innovation strategies adopted in the past:

- Planning was too shortsighted, i.e. for too limited a period.
- There was too much reliance on the possibilities of instructional technology models.
- Too little was done to integrate teacher training and in-service training for teachers into the process of change.

The main feature of future innovation and innovation planning is to be the long-term outlook. An approach is needed for tackling the training system in its entirety and not primarily details of the system. This will involve greater emphasis than hitherto on the "visions of the future of practical people", on the fantasy and inspirational force of individual innovators. Objectives are to be discussed in the light of new social values and patterns. The apparently insurmountable dilemma at present is that it is precisely a society's democratic structures which seem to blunt the force of certain versions and to impede practical people in their work, and that they can in the long run even have a reactionary effect.

The long-term outlook - operationally this might mean thirty-year intervals - could be meaningfully planned for only in international contexts. In this a special part would be played by critical futurology, i.e. future-oriented research and future-oriented planning. At national level the setting up of an informal working group at the Ministry of Education would be conceivable, in which the Ministry itself, the National Board of Education, the Office of the Chancellor of the Universities, the municipal school systems and the institutions providing teacher training and in-service training for teachers would have to be represented. Their function would be to prepare organised future-oriented studies in the educational sector. A further working group at the National Board of Education, but also in touch with the municipalities, might work on the same problems with special reference to the comprehensive school. This group would have to co-operate closely with a special "idea group" (Göte Rudvall), which would be responsible for the further development of the curriculum. The relevance to educational practice would be assured by the reference to complete innovation systems - innovation schools, institutions for training and in-service training in innovation, and innovative regions.

It would, of course, be important in all these long-term experiments to authorise and promote as many alternative models as is economically feasible in order to guarantee continuous discussion and revision of objectives in the innovative process. This would automatically rule out any rigid control of this type of innovation. The resources invested in this sector of innovation should be at least as great as those invested in strict research projects in the proper sense of the term. The sector in which economies would be most justifiable would be that of the development of teaching materials.

The medium-term outlook - which means more or less the current decade - would be the right context for regional initiatives. Here again there would have to be co-operation between the Ministry of Education, the manpower authorities and municipal bodies, though rigid forms of co-operation between the national and the regional levels, and between the municipal school system and the research institutions should be reduced to a minimum, to prevent unnecessary channelling of the region's innovative capacity. The national authorities should be expected to practice the "art of waiting for facts". The municipality would need freedom for development and experimentation. The central authorities - i.e. the National Board of Education - should take up the ideas and interim findings and use its greater financial latitude for systematisation and generalisation. In dealing with the municipalities they should allow them enough scope to participate or not to participate in the application of these generalised and systematised models. The municipalities, for their part, should be prepared to make their personnel available for demonstration, discussion and experimental purposes, in so far as the State provides the financial resources. The municipality's role should mainly be that of supplying initiatives and ideas and carrying out preliminary experiments at its own expense. The National Board should play a less ambitious role than hitherto, a role that would consist mainly in co-ordination and part-financing, in providing information and in diffusion. The region's research institutions would be expected to integrate their researchers into the educational field operations, but also they should be largely relieved of sole responsibility for the entire planning and initiative phase.

The short-term outlook would be reserved mainly for commissioned adaptation and implementation, especially for all kinds of data confirmation.

In the future the diffusion strategies should concentrate mainly on integrating teacher training and in-service training of teachers into the innovative process, ensuring that prospective teachers and those training them are involved in experimentation, so as to bridge the gap between theory and practice that has steadily widened in recent years.

Göte Rudvall's postulate that in the future innovation should be more strictly goal-directed, and - as he himself understands it - more radically included in these very goals, has already been outlined (cf. Chapter V). He advocated "permanent municipal experiment centres" in which the local schools of education and their experimental and demonstration schools would co-operate with municipally initiated experiment groups on the lines of the educational development centres. These experiment centres would have to receive central financial aid from the State. On the whole it would be desirable to plan future innovations to a greater extent on an inter-discipline basis, i.e. to call in sociologists, architects and representatives of other disciplines as well as educationists. For this purpose the traditional rigid distinction between scientific educational research and exploratory field-initiated experiments would also have to be surmounted.

A special curriculum secretariat at the National Board of Education, having a mainly co-ordinating function, might be a useful way of increasing the efficiency of long-term curriculum development. The ideoligical headquarters would have to be an idea group, composed of senior officials of the National Board and other suitably qualified persons not linked with special group interests. Additional reference groups could also be constituted by representatives of various ideologies and group interests (teachers' and pupils' unions, producers of teaching material, parents' organisations, etc.).

The only effective way of solving the diffusion problem would be by a dual strategy. In the first place, as well as a challenge to their pioneering spirit the teachers might possibly receive certain compensations for extra work performed in the innovation process, something which could also serve as an incentive, e.g. if regular reporting was made compulsory teachers would be encouraged to avoid both unduly facile devotion to routine and dilettantism. In this connection something would have to be done to change the conservative attitude of the trade unions towards greater obligations on the part of the individual teacher with regard to in-service training. Consideration should be given to prescribing fixed hours of work for teachers as for all comparable public servants, in order to ensure better systematisation of in-service training, team planning and other non-teaching activities. Secondly, the focal point of new in-service training campaigns should be the further education of those providing the in-service training and the teacher training. The list of official duties of methods lecturers in the schools of education and of in-service training consultants should include regular refresher training. Only one of Rudvall's many concrete proposals will be mentioned here, i.e. the establishment of compulsory and organised terms of in-service training and study for college teachers.

Bertil Gran has advocated close contact between researchers and educational field workers as the most important characteristic of future innovation. In practice every scientific research project would entail prior exploratory experiments in the field, at least if the aim is demand-oriented research. Conversely, in field-initiated experimentation qualified researchers and a wide range of experts would be needed to ensure processing and analysis of the findings.

SOME CONCLUDING VIEWS OF THE OBSERVER

The essential conditions for the appearance and expansion of innovative capacity in the Malmö region include not only the considerable homogeneity of the general awareness of educational problems in Sweden but also and especially the organisational context of a completed outward educational reform which had created a certain vacuum with regard to specifically pedagogical problems which now had to be filled. One general advantage, though not specifically for the Malmö region, was the existence of a special agency for educational development and research (Bureau L4) at national level and of a Department of Educational and Psychological Research at regional level. The initiatives and the constant incentive for innovative activities within this very general context were mainly the work of a very small number of persons in the region.

Despite the broad parliamentary support for the educational reform, achieved by a compromise, the educational policy implications of that reform probably had a more restrictive influence than was necessary on the discussions of objectives, in the regional innovation process as well. In the past the influence of the centralised machinery for selection and the setting of priorities on the orientation of regional innovation activities has been fairly slight, but now it is tending to increase. Nevertheless, two quite different standpoints are becoming apparent in the present theoretical discussion on future activities in the region. Innovation is interpreted according to one standpoint as a politically legitimate and clearly goal-directed process, conceived for certain desirable social situations. The other standpoint sees innovation as a search which politically speaking is also relatively open and which in principle allows constant reappraisal of objectives and a constant search for ways of making the school an open communications system in which mutual understanding, social learning, altruism, humanity and other formal categories will predominate. A common feature of both standpoints is doubt as to the viability of pure teaching technology for innovative pedagogics.

The marked centralism of the Swedish educational system permitted the rapid implementation of fairly radical reforms, which became both a condition and a challenge for regional initiatives. At the same time the region shared in the opportunities afforded by the efficient investment of the resources available at regional level. It is also true that the need for strict and exclusive reference to the school and for activities mainly aimed at adapting and implementing the Curriculum led to a certain channelling of problem awareness, even among the region's policy-makers, something which may have helped to cause the obvious tendencies towards alienation throughout the teaching profession. Although the example of the major projects showed that it is often precisely the individual initiatives originating in the field that have the greatest inspirational power and viability, the power to decide on possible adoptions of such initiatives does not rest with the region concerned, least of all at the base, i.e. with the teaching profession.

The great concentration of persons and groups in innovative activities in the region raises the question of their justification. The assurance and approach of the persons controlling the innovation process in the region have somewhat charismatic and, accordingly, very irrational features. What seemed from one angle to be a unique inspirational force extending beyond the limits of the region and of Sweden as a whole may, in the long run, have helped to place the innovators into a kind of ghetto in the region itself. The analysis of the diffusion problem showed that the educational field workers in the region and in the immediate vicinity could be reached sooner and better through nationally controlled campaigns than through direct communication and co-operation.

Science found itself in a double role with respect to innovative activity in the region. On the one hand there are research and development projects, initiated by the participating scientists themselves and made possible by State funds, which by their terms of reference and orientation, take the form of scientifically based innovation on the R and D pattern. Due to their fairly close links with the region's school system during the testing phases and due to conscientious and frank reporting, they have gone beyond their immediate sphere of influence and are now stimulating further discussions, especially on the question of the objectives of the innovation process. The fact that they put a predominant emphasis on teaching techniques sometimes leads to the view that they have no innovative value in relation to comprehensive objectives. Their cost-intensive and protracted nature has caused spontaneous attempts at outside control and premature generalisation.

On the other hand, attempts were made to involve researchers in the evaluation of field-initiated projects. Not least because of the traditional scarcity of theory in the educational sciences in Sweden this role has usually been a purely ancillary one and was sometimes thought to be even retarding the work. More recent development in the region offers prospects of greater integration of scientific personnel in field-initiated innovation from the outset.

The multiplicity and diversity of the various innovative activities in the Malmö region make it impossible to characterise the innovation strategy as a whole. It is, however, possible tentatively to note an overall trend from ad hoc experiment to rational-empirical planning. Admittedly this at first leaves untouched a problem that is perhaps specifically Swedish in this connection, i.e. the fact that the centralised power of decision constitutes a sluice gate through which every initiative, however meritorious, from the educational field in general and from a region so committed to innovation as Malmö in particular, must pass and which is not always easy to negotiate. It would be interesting to know whether this method, which seems effective at first sight, does not in the long run hinder initiative and kill motivation. What is needed is "a systematic approach to research in order to ascertain whether the objectives set out in the reform policy have really been attained". (From a motion "on the evaluation of the educational reforms" put forward in the Swedish Riksdag by Liberal Party members on 27 January 1971.)

Appendix 1

PEOPLE INTERVIEWED AND SOURCES

I formally interviewed the following people during the observation period - some of them on two or more occasions - on the relevant range of problems:

Sven-Erik Eriksson, assistant director of education at the Malmö City Board of Education

Ebbe Lindell, assistant professor

Bengt Nilsson, research secretary, and

Birgitta Nyrén-Gran, assistant, at the Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the Malmö School of Education

Elsie Renée, teacher and member of the City Assembly; and

Birgit Rodhe, municipal councillor and, until 1970, assistant director of education and experiment leader in the Experiment Committee of the Malmö Educational Development Centre.

I also obtained information from the following sources (the publications and other papers quoted in the text are set out in Appendix 2, general references):

The publications series of the Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the Malmö School of Education

The annual reports of the Malmö Educational Development Centre

The information bulletins of the National Board of Education

The periodicals of the teachers' unions

Minutes of the Planning Group and the Experiment Committee of the Educational Development Centre

Minutes of the meetings of various managing bodies of the Department of Educational and Psychological Research

Internal working papers from the Department of Educational and Psychological Research and the School Office; and

Technical periodicals and daily newspapers.

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Appendix 3

CATALOGUE OF PROJECTS AT THE MALMÖ EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CENTRE

A. PROJECTS ORIGINALLY PLANNED OUTSIDE THE CENTRE

A 1 Individualised mathematics teaching (IMU) (cf. Chapter III and Appendix 5).

A 2 The Lunda system -

A methods-materials-systems approach for mathematics teaching, which was developed in Lund, adapted for Malmö by the Centre and tested at the Malmö experimental and demonstration school. This system provides absolute individualisation, is based mainly on the principle of free choice of learning pace and difficulty level and the principle of work in variable pupil groups of different sizes. It endeavours to conform in this respect to the demands of the 1969 Curriculum and Study Plan for greater individualisation. (Literature: Flinck, 1970; Flinck and Larsson, 1970).

A 3 Teaching methods for German (UMT) (cf. Chapter III and Appendix 5).

A 4 Learning studio. Contact: Konsulent S. Lindholm, c/o Malmö Board of Education.

A 5 The teaching of practical subjects. Contact: Konsulent G. Lindström and Konsulent T. Odelius, c/o Malmö Board of Education.

A 6 Reading tests for the special school (project of the Institute of Pedagogics of the University of Uppsala). Local contact: Rektor I. Sandling, c/o Malmö Board of Education.

A 7 Closed circuit television (ITV). Contact: Fortbildningskonsulent (Consultant on advanced training) L. Thorsell, c/o Malmö Board of Education.

A 8 Experiment in educational organisation (PEDO), combined with the overall VGL project (see B2 to B10).

A 9 New forms of practical vocational orientation. Contact: Yrkesvalslärare (careers master) P.E. Persson, c/o Malmö Board of Education.

A10 Registration of teaching materials. Contact: Rektor T. Holmerup, c/o Malmö Board of Education.

A11 Compulsory music teaching in the seventh grade. Contact: Konsulent S. Nordström, c/o Malmö Board of Education.

A12 Instruction by tape in typing instruction. Contact: Studierektor (Director of Studies) G. Denker, c/o Malmö Board of Education.

A13 Separate special instruction in gymnastics for pupils with certain physical and mental handicaps. Contact: Gymnastikdirektor M. Bergschöld.

B. VARIABLE GROUP SIZE AND TEAM TEACHING (VGL)

B 1 Remedial teaching as a substitute for certain forms of special classes (cf. Chapter III and Appendix 5).

B 2 to B10

Variable group size and team teaching at different levels and types of schools and in different subjects (cf. Chapter III and Appendix 5).

C. SUBSIDIARY EXPERIMENTS RELATING TO THE VGL PROJECT

The purpose of these projects is the intensive testing of new teaching materials, new methods, new subject matter and new forms of co-operation in the school.

C 1 Epoch-centred and intensive teaching in certain subjects in the third year of the humanities and social sciences stream of the gymnasium. Contact: Lektor I. Svensson, c/o Malmö Board of Education.

C 2 and C 3

Testing of early starting of English teaching (second and third grades of the comprehensive school). Contact: Konsulent S. Lindholm, c/o Malmö Board of Education.

C 4 Greater individualisation in the upper level of the comprehensive school. Under this project programmed and audio-visual media and individualising organisational patterns for modern language teaching (German and English) in the seventh and eighth grades are developed and tested. Contact: Konsulent S. Lindholm, c/o Malmö Board of Education.

C 5 Testing of a vertical programme in study technique. Production of systematic material and the application of systematic measures from the comprehensive school to the upper secondary level in order to improve skills (study technique) and increase study motivation. In the former sector what is involved is the systematisation or production of materials and methods to promote skills; in the latter sector what is involved is the creation of an environment conducive to study in the school (e.g. the school library) and in the home. Originally attention was focused on the first grades of the comprehensive school, but later the simultaneous testing of measures from the first grade to the gymnasium was started. Contact: Adjunkt (deputy head teacher) I. Holmström and Folkskollärare (elementary school teacher) M. Knutsson, c/o Malmö Board of Education.

C 6 Expanded pupil co-operation in the planning of teaching at the gymnasium. Contact: Rektor G. Cederberg, c/o Malmö Board of Education.

D. NEW METHODS IN INITIAL AND LOWER LEVEL TEACHING

D 1 Co-operation between pre-school and lower level of the comprehensive school (FÖL), cf. Appendix 4, IV:2, page 437.

Appendix 4

CATALOGUE OF PROJECTS AT THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH OF THE MALMÖ SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

I MATERIAL-ORIENTED PROJECTS

I:1 Individualised teaching of mathematics (IMU) (cf. Chapter III and Appendix 5).

I:2 Teaching methods for German (UMT) (cf. Chapter III and Appendix 5).

I:3 Investigation of factors affecting concept-formation and concept-learning. This primarily involves the investigation of the following problems on the example of mathematics teaching: the relationship between concept-formation and certain teaching materials; the significance of the discovery method in concept-formation and concept-learning; the automation process when certain materials are used; concept-formation among less able individuals; and factors influencing the process of problem-solving. Contact: Assistant A. Martinsson, c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education.

I:4 Problems of professional pedagogics. Construction of methods-materials-systems approaches for training appraisal and problem-solving capacity under a training programme for nurses. Contact: Lektor fil. lic. L. Sjödahl, c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education.

I:5 Free written language design (Sprachgestaltung) at the intermediate level of the comprehensive school. Contact: Docent fil. dr. E. Lindell, c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education.

II TEACHER-ORIENTED PROJECTS, STAFF PROJECTS

II:1 Established post analyses as a basis for training and advanced training in the school system: head teachers, methods lecturers and mentors. Contact: Lektor fil. lic. K. Gestrelius, c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education.

II:2 Closed circuit television in teacher training (ITV). This project falls into two main parts: 1. Self-confrontation of student teachers with their taped micro-lessons within the context of teacher training; self-evaluation and behavioural changes of students compared with assessments obtained by tests and experts as external criteria; and 2. Development of closed circuit television programmes for teacher training. Contacts: Lektor fil. lic. B. Gran and Assistant B. Bierschenk, c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education. Literature: Bjerstedt, 1967 (b) and (c).

II:3 Pedagogics in teacher training (PIL).

This project comprises teacher activity analyses, operational descriptions of objectives in teacher training, investigation of the effects and significance of various disciplines in teacher training and the development of specific systems of training technology for different branches of teacher training. Contacts: Lektor fil. lic. B. Gran and Lektor G. Löfqvist, c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education.

II:4 The significance of the practice term in class teacher training. Contact: Lektor fil. lic. P. Sundgren, c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education.

II:5 Preparation, process and product in the teacher-pupil interaction. Contact: Assistant G. Ankarstrand-Lindström, c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education.

III PUPIL-ORIENTED PROJECTS

III:1 Social development and education in the comprehensive school. Contact: Assistant E. Jernryd, c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education.

III:2 Creativity and autonomy. Contact: Assistant G. Hansson, c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education.

III:3 Pupil democracy and participation in planning at different educational levels. Contact: Assistant B. Valind, c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education.

III:4 Research involving deaf pupils; method development for testing aptitudes for choice of occupation and training. Contact: Assistant K. Nordén, c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education.

III:5 Decision-taking on the basis of information purchase in risk situations. Contact: Docent fil. dr. B. Larsson, c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education. Literature: Larsson, 1968 and 1970.

III:6 Non-subject-specific objectives in university education. Contact: Professor fil. dr. Å. Bjerstedt, c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education.

IV PROJECTS MAINLY CONCERNING WORKING ENVIRONMENT AND ORGANISATION

IV:1 Variable group size and team teaching (cf. Chapter III and Appendix 5).

IV:2 Co-operation between pre-school and lower level of the comprehensive school (FÖL).

The only reason why the FÖL project was not included among the examples which were used - on the basis of Chapter III - to illustrate the different types of origin and interaction in the regional innovation scheme is that it is too young a project - approximately two years old - to provide adequate experimental data. For two fundamental reasons, however, it promises to be one of the most interesting projects in the entire field of Swedish research and development. In the first place, a greater number of different institutions are co-operating in it than in any other project, i.e. the Educational Development Centre, the Department of Educational and Psychological Research, the Social Department of the City of Malmö and the Pre-School Teachers' Training College. The body responsible for scientific planning and evaluation is the Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the Malmö School of Education. Contact: Docent fil. dr. O. Magne, c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education. In the second place it is aimed more directly and to a greater extent than other projects at a radical and durable reorganisation of the Swedish pre-school - hitherto not compulsory - and comprehensive school. The FOL Project is partly based on the findings of other earlier and parallel projects, mainly on the experiments with remedial classes and remedial teachers (cf. Chapter III and Appendix 5) and with flexible team teaching in the lower level of the comprehensive school (cf. Chapter III and Appendix 5). It comprises three sectors:

Sector 1 Methods and materials experiment
The listing, analysis, revision and, to a certain extent, the reconstruction of methods and materials for the pre-school; correlating of results and interim results with the subject-matter and methodological aspects of teaching at the basic level.

Sector 2 Organisational experiment -
Division of pupils into age-groups of approximately 25 each (primary groups) corresponding, for instance, to the pre-school year and to the first, second and third grade of the comprehensive school; appointment of one teacher with chief responsibility to each group; ad hoc breaking down of the primary groups according to pedagogical and didactic criteria in order to constitute inter-age groupings whose members have an opportunity as time goes on to get to know all participating teachers and pupils; avoidance of the conventional non-graded principle (competitive behaviour, performance pressure) by adhering to the principle of the primary group.

Sector 3 Social psychology experiment (in preparation)
Operationalising the "social handicap" concept; development of strategies to even out differences between children with an initial social handicap and socially privileged children.

IV:3 School environment project
In south-west Skåne an inter-municipality planning group, composed of administrative officials, architects and educationists, is studying questions of modern school building

(the SAMSKAP project). The original objective was the rationalisation and increased effectiveness of school building, but the long-term planning technique also led inevitably to an educational emphasis, to the designing and building of open schools of the large-room type offering scope for greater flexibility in the division of floor space. This project has led to the starting of three subsidiary projects, which are partly under the scientific supervision of the Department of Educational and Psychological Research, i.e.:

The LISS project - analysis of the various possibilities of reorganising the curriculum in SAMSKAP schools;

The LINS project - analysis of special demands on the production and application of teaching materials in SAMSKAP schools; and

The LOFS project: analysis of space requirements and space design for leisure activities in "open schools". (A project of the Lund Technical College.) Contact: Lektor fil. lic. B. Gran, c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education.

Appendix 5

REFERENCES AND CONTACTS FOR EXEMPLARY PROJECTS DESCRIBED IN CHAPTER III

1. VGL

Contacts for the management of the entire VGL project: Kommunalråd (Municipal councillor) Birgit Rodhe and Auth Andersson, City Hall, Malmö. Meanwhile a total of about 20 schools representing the different levels and types and certain of the main activities involved in the project are taking part in the VGL project. The scientific supervision and evaluation of the project is done by the Department of Educational and Psychological Research of the Malmö School of Education, and the contact for the scientific sector is Lektor Göte Rudvall, c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education. Literature: Gran, 1969, Rodhe and Christoffersson and others, 1967; Rudvall, 1970.

2. Remedial Teaching

The contact for the "remedial teaching" experimental project directed by the Malmö Educational Development Centre is Rektor O. Arvidsson, c/o Malmö Board of Education. The person in charge of the scientific evaluation of the experiment was (until 1969) fil. lic. B. Nyrén-Gran, c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education. Literature: Nyrén, 1969.

3. IMU

Contacts: for all questions concerning material development and practical experiment organisation, Konsulent C. Öreberg; for the scientific supervision and evaluation, Lektor fil. lic. L. M. Jivén, both c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education. Literature: Håstad, Svensson and Öreberg, 1968; Jivén and Öreberg, 1968; Karow, 1971.

4. German Teaching, UMT

The contacts are the project leader fil. lic. H. Löfgren and the scientific leader Docent fil. dr. E. Lindell, both c/o Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmö School of Education. Literature: Lindell, 1969.

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